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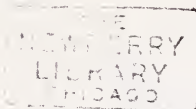
HISTORY
OF
NEW YORK CITY
V.I
FROM

THE DISCOVERY
TO
THE PRESENT DAY,

BY
WILLIAM L. STONE,

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.";
"LIFE AND WRITINGS OF COL. WM. L. STONE";
ETC., ETC., ETC.

"HUMANI NIHIL ALIENUM."

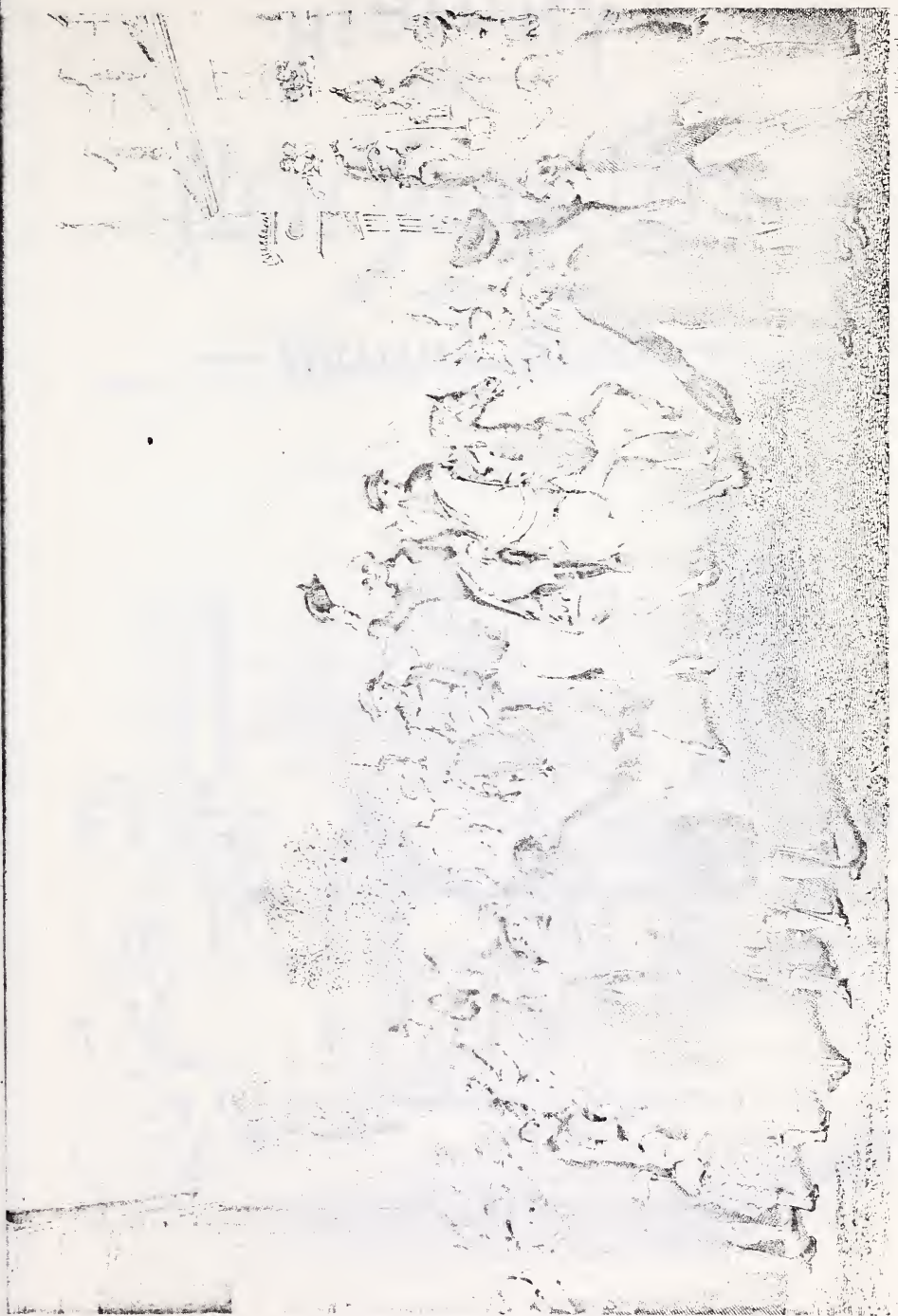


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CITY OF NEW YORK IN 1664.



HISTORY
— OF —

NEW YORK CITY

— BY —
WILLIAM L. STONE. —



A. S. Johnston del. J. B. Kneller sculp.

VIRTUE & YORSTON - NEW YORK

TO

HORACE GREELEY AND MARSHALL O. ROBERTS,

REPRESENTATIVE MEN

OF

NEW YORK CITY,

AS A SLIGHT ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE MANY COURTESIES

WHICH HE HAS RECEIVED FROM THEM,

This Volume

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THEIR FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

PERHAPS, in the history of the world, no other city has risen, in the same space of time, to such pre-eminent commercial importance as the city of New York. To the student, the merchant, the philosopher, and the statesman, every incident connected with its rise and progress must be of the greatest interest. Histories of the city of New York have been before this submitted to the public, but it is believed that none of them have met the requirements of a work like the present,—one which, while it aims to be an authority for the future historian, shall be desirable for general reading.

In the preparation of this volume, the author has derived very great aid from the unpublished manuscripts of his father, the author of "Brant" and "Red-Jacket." Many of these consist of conversations

and narratives taken down by him from the lips of men who took a prominent part in the public affairs of the city from the period of the American Revolution down to the year 1844. Conversations, for example, with Aaron Burr, Chancellor Livingston, Nicholas Bayard, Chief-Justice Yates, John Jay, Robert Morris, Morgan Lewis, William Maxwell, Robert Troup, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Dr. Francis, and others, contain much that is new and especially valuable, not only to the historical scholar, but to the mere lover of curious and entertaining reading.

In this work will be found, entire, three valuable contributions to the history of the city. These are, first, the narrative of the GRAND ERIE CANAL CELEBRATION, written, at the request of the Corporation of the City of New York, by the late Colonel William L. Stone; second, an account of the PROCESSION IN HONOR OF THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION in 1788, and WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION AND INAUGURATION BALL, in 1789, by the same author; and, third, REMINISCENCES OF NEW YORK CITY, by the late Gulian C. Verplanck, first given under the *nom de plume* of "Francis Herbert," in the *Talisman* for 1829-'30. These narratives, alone, should make this work of particular value, since, as is well known to

book-collectors, they can only be obtained with difficulty and at a high price.

The writer himself, also, has enjoyed peculiar advantages of a similar kind for gaining accurate and extended knowledge of events which, although of comparatively recent date, are fast fading from the minds of the present generation. Of these may be mentioned the GREAT FIRES OF 1811 AND 1835, the RECEPTION OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE in 1824;—and the “TRINITY CHURCH,” “FIVE POINTS,” “FLOUR,” and “STONE-CUTTERS’” RIOTS—the facts of which were in part communicated to him by one who was an active participant in those scenes,—the late Gabriel P. Disosway, of Staten Island, the well-known antiquarian and local writer.

The author has likewise derived much assistance from conversations held with General Prosper M. Wetmore, Chief-Justice C. P. Daly, the late venerable David T. Valentine,—for many years clerk of the Common Council,—and from the writings of Colonel Thomas F. Devoe, Mr. Asher Taylor, and Miss Mary L. Booth. His thanks are also due to President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan; Colonel Silas W. Burt, Franklin Burdge, Esq., Dr. Joseph W. Richards, and Manuel C. Jordan, of New York

city; Dr. E. P. Buffett, Lewis A. Brigham, Esq., and B. W. Throckmorton, Esq., of Bergen, N. J.; Waldo M. Potter, Esq., of Davenport, Iowa; and Hon. Judge C. S. Lester and Dr. R. L. Allen, of Saratoga Springs, N. Y., for valuable suggestions. Nor must he forget to make special mention of the kindness of Lucien B. Stone, Esq., the well-known Broad-street banker, for assistance in gathering important statistics.

In the hope that, whatever defects there may be in his work, he will, at least, be credited with the desire of performing his task conscientiously, the author submits this volume to the kind consideration of his fellow-citizens.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

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HISTORY

OF

NEW YORK CITY.

THE HISTORY OF NEW YORK NATURALLY DIVIDES ITSELF INTO THREE PERIODS OF TIME:—*First*—FROM ITS SETTLEMENT BY THE DUTCH TO ITS PERMANENT OCCUPANCY BY THE ENGLISH; *Second*—FROM THE ENGLISH CONQUEST TO THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR; AND, *Third*—FROM ITS EVACUATION BY THE BRITISH DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY.

FIRST PERIOD.

1598–1674.

The settlement of New York Island by the Dutch, and its permanent occupancy by the English.

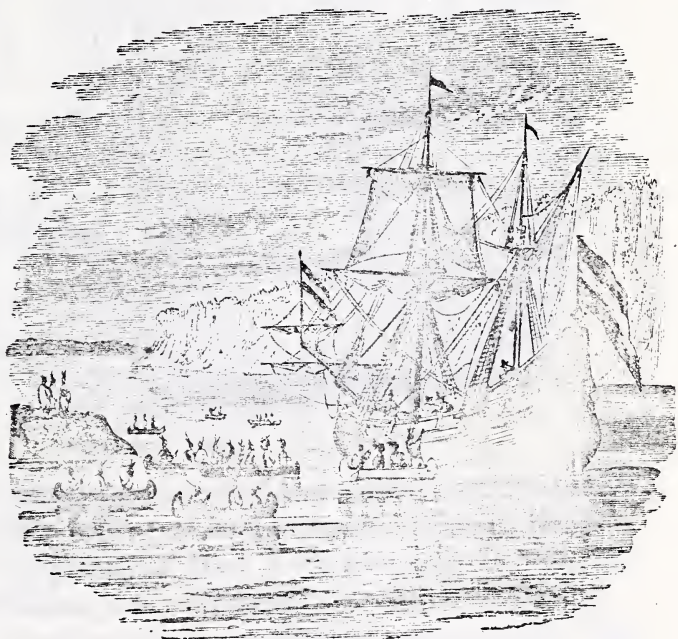
CHAPTER I.

It is the general belief that the first landing made on New York Island, or the "Island of Manhattan," as it was then called, was by Hendrick Hudson, in 1609.

This, however, is not the case; since the earliest 1598. records extant state that as early as 1598, a few Hollanders, in the employ of a Greenland Company, were in the habit of resorting to New Netherlands (*i. e.*, New York), not, it is true, with the design of effecting a settlement, but merely to secure shelter during the winter months. With this view they built two small forts to protect themselves

against the Indians. Nevertheless, the fact remains undisputed, that to Hudson belongs the honor of being the first who directed public attention to the Island of Manhattan as an advantageous point for a trading port in the New World.

1609. On the 4th of April, 1609, the great navigator sailed out of the harbor of Amsterdam, and ' by twelve of ye clocke' of the 6th he was two leagues off



THE "HALF-MOON."

the land. He was in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, who had commissioned him to seek a passage to the East Indies by the north side of Nova Zembla. Having, however, found the sea at that part full of ice, he turned the prow of his little vessel, the *Half-Moon*, westward, and, after a month's cruise, reached the great Bank of Newfoundland on the 2d of July Thence he sailed

—southward to the James River, Virginia, and again altering his course—still in pursuit of a new channel to India—



FIRST SETTLEMENT ON THE HUDSON.

he coasted along the shores of New Jersey, and on the 2d of September, 1609, cast anchor inside of Sandy Hook.

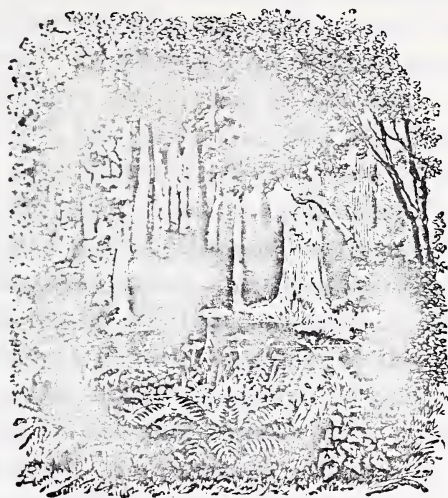
The topography of New York Island, as it was first seen by Hudson, was as follows :

"The lower part of it consisted of wood-crowned hills and beautiful grassy valleys, including a chain of swamps and marshes and a deep pond. Northward, it rose into a rocky, high ground. The sole inhabitants were a tribe of dusky Indians,—an off-shoot from the great nation of the Lenni Lenape, who inhabited the vast territory bounded by the Penobscot and Potomac, the Atlantic and Mississippi,—dwelling in the clusters of rude wigwams that dotted here and there the surface of the country. The

rivers that gird the Island were as yet unstirred by the keels of ships, and the bark canoes of the native Manhattans held sole possession of the peaceful waters.

“The face of the country, more particularly described, was gently undulating, presenting every variety of hill and dale, of brook and rivulet. The upper part of the Island was rocky, and covered by a dense forest; the lower part grassy, and rich in wild fruits and flowers. Grapes and strawberries grew in abundance in the fields, and nuts of various kinds were plentiful in the forests, which were also filled with abundance of game. The brooks and ponds were swarming with fish, and the soil was of luxuriant fertility. In the vicinity of the present “Tombs” was a deep, clear, and beautiful pond of fresh water (with a picturesque little island in the middle)—so deep, indeed, that it could have floated the largest ship in our navy,—which was for a long time deemed bottomless by its possessors. This was fed by large springs at the bottom, which kept its waters fresh and flowing, and had its outlet in a little stream that flowed into the East River, near the foot of James street. Smaller ponds dotted the Island in various places, two of which, lying near each other, in the vicinity of the present corner of the Bowery and Grand street, collected the waters of the high grounds which surrounded them. To the north-west of the Fresh Water Pond, or “Kolck,” as it afterwards came to be called, beginning in the vicinity of the present Hudson River Railroad and Freight Depot (formerly St. John’s Park), and extending to the northward over an area of some seventy acres, lay an immense marsh, filled with reeds and brambles, and tenanted with frogs and water-snakes. A little rivulet connected this marsh with the Fresh Water Pond, which was also connected—by the stream which formed its outlet—with another strip of marshy land, covering the region now occupied by James,

Cherry, and the adjacent streets. An unbroken chain of waters was thus stretched across the Island from James street at the south-east to Canal street at the north-west. An inlet occupied the place of Broad street, a marsh cov-



THE SWAMP.

ered the vicinity of Ferry street, Rutgers street formed the center of another marsh, and a long line of meadows and swampy ground stretched to the northward along the eastern shore.

"The highest line of lands lay along Broadway, from the Battery to the northernmost part of the Island, forming its backbone, and sloping gradually to the east and west. On the corner of Grand street and Broadway was a high hill, commanding a view of the whole Island, and falling off gradually to the Fresh Water Pond. To the south and west, the country, in the intervals of the marshes, was of great beauty—rolling, grassy, fertile, and well watered. A high range of sand hills traversed a part of the Island, from Varick and Charlton to Eighth and Greene streets. To the north of these lay a valley, through which ran a brook, which formed the outlet of

the springy marshes at Washington Square, and emptied into the North River at the foot of Hammersly street." *

Meanwhile, Hudson, having explored the river that bears his name as far as the present city of Albany, set sail on the 4th of October for Europe, bearing the news of the discovery of a new country—the “opening for a new *commerce*,” for although his patrons were disappointed in not finding a short road to the land of silks, teas, and spices, still, his great discovery was destined to open in future time mines of wealth, more valuable than all the imagined riches of the Celestial Empire.

At that period, Holland carried on a lucrative trade with the East Indies and Russia. Every year they dispatched nearly one hundred ships to Archangel for furs; but Hudson's glowing accounts of the rich peltry he had seen in the newly-discovered regions, soon turned the attention of the busy Dutch to a country where these articles could be purchased without the taxes of custom-houses and other duties. Accordingly, in the year 1610, a few merchants dispatched another vessel, under the command of the *Half-Moon's* former mate, to traffic in furs with the Indians. This venture met with such success, that, two years after, in 1612, the *Fortune* and the *Tiger*, commanded, respectively, by Hendrick Christiaensen and Adrien Block, sailed on a trading voyage to the “Mauritius River,” as the Hudson was first named. The following year, also, three more vessels, commanded by Captains De Witt, Volckertsen, and Wey, sailed from Amsterdam and Hoven on a similar adventure. These were the beginnings of the important fur trade, which was, ere long, to be a chief source of wealth, to Holland and America. It was now determined to open a regular communication with the

* Miss M. L. Booth's History of New York.

newly-discovered region, and to make the Island of Manhattan the depot of the fur trade in America. It was also resolved to establish permanent agents here for the purchase and collection of skins, while the vessels were on their voyages to and from Holland. Captain Hendrick Christiaensen became the first agent, and built a redoubt, with four small houses, on ground which, it is said, is now the site of No. 39 Broadway.

A little navy was commenced about the same period by Captain Adrien Block, one of the vessels of which was accidentally burned, just on the eve of his departure for Holland. Having abundant materials, however, in the Island of Manhattan, he finished another; and, in the spring of 1614, launched the first vessel ever built in New Amsterdam. She was named the *Restless*,
1614.
a yacht of sixteen tons—a name prophetic of the ever-busy and future great city. The entire winter passed in building the vessel, the Indians kindly supplying the strangers with food. Such were the earliest movements of commerce in New Netherlands two centuries and a half ago!

A few months before Captain Block's return to Holland, the States-General of the Netherlands, with a view of encouraging emigration, passed an ordinance granting the discoverers of new countries the exclusive privilege of trading at Manhattan during four years. Accordingly, the merchants who had sent out the first expedition had a map made of all the country between Canada and Virginia, as the whole new region was called, and, claiming to be the original discoverers, petitioned the Government for the promised monopoly. Their petition was granted; and on the 11th of October, 1614, they obtained a charter for the exclusive right of trade on the territory within the 40th and 45th degrees of north latitude. The charter also forbade all other persons to interfere with this mo-

nopoly, in the penalty of confiscating both vessels and cargoes, with a fine also of 50,000 Dutch ducats for the benefit of the charter's grantees. The new province first formally received the name of *New Netherland* in this document; and Dutch merchants, associating themselves under the name of the "United New Netherland Company," straightway prepared to conduct their operations on a more extensive scale. Trading parties to the interior hastened to collect furs from the Indians, and deposit them at Forts Nassau (Albany) and Manhattan. Jacob Eelkins, a shrewd trader, received the appointment of agent at the former place, where the first one, Captain Christiaensen, had been murdered by an Indian. This was the first murder ever recorded in the new province.

1617. In the year 1617, a formal treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between the Dutch and the powerful nation of the Iroquois. The pipe of peace was smoked, and the hatchet buried in the earth, on the present site of Albany. This treaty, as may readily be imagined, greatly increased the prosperity of the Dutch traders, who had hitherto occupied Manhattan merely by the sufferance of the Indians. Their agents accordingly at once extended their trips further into the interior, obtaining on each trip valuable furs in exchange for the muskets and ammunition so much coveted by the natives. This trade became so profitable, that when the charter of the United New Netherland Company expired, in 1618, they petitioned for a renewal, but failing to obtain it, they continued their trade two or three years longer, under a special license.

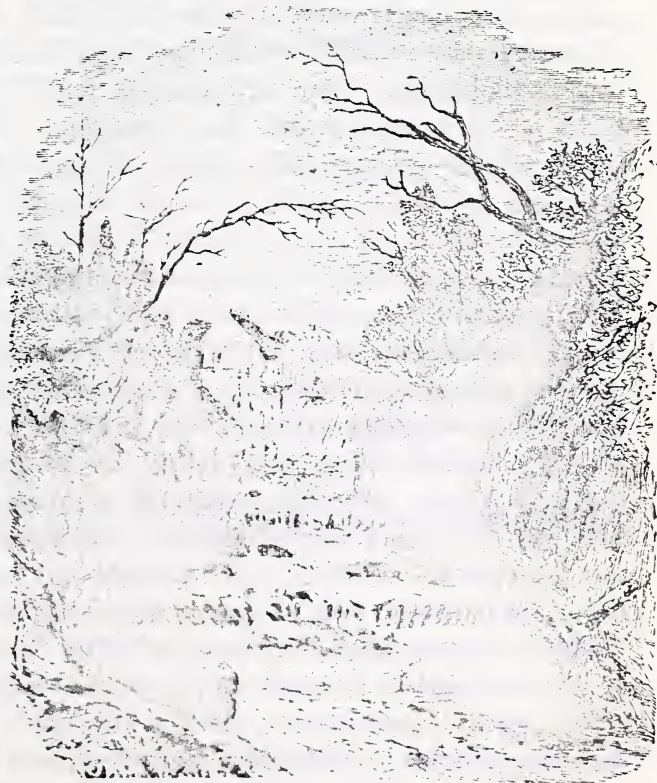
Up to this period, the Hollanders had considered Manhattan as a trading post only, and dwelt in mere temporary huts of rude construction. But the British now explored the American coast, claiming the whole region between Canada and Virginia, from the Atlantic

to the Pacific Ocean, and the Dutch, consequently, began to realize the importance of securing their American possessions in the new province. The English Puritans, hearing glowing accounts of New Netherland, requested permission to emigrate thither with their families. But the States-General, having other plans in view, refused the prayers of the Puritans. They thought it better policy to supply the new province with their own countrymen, and on the 3d of June, 1621, granted a charter to the West India Company for twenty years, which conferred upon that body the exclusive jurisdiction over New Netherland. It may well be questioned whether the States-General acted wisely in the course thus pursued. Had they filled the land, as the English were doing, with crowds of hardy, moral emigrants and pioneers—farmers with their cattle and husbandry—the Dutch settlements would have advanced with far greater rapidity. Be this, however, as it may, the West India Company no sooner became possessed of the charter, than it at once became a power in the new country. Having the exclusive right of trade and commerce in the Atlantic, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope upon the Eastern Continent, and from Newfoundland to Magellan Straits on the Western, its influence over this immense territory was almost boundless in making contracts with the Indians, building forts, administering justice, and appointing public officers. In return, the chartered Company pledged itself to colonize the new territory. The government of this association was vested in five separate chambers or boards of management, in five of the principal Dutch cities, viz: Amsterdam, Middleburg, Dordrecht, one in North Holland, and one in Friesland. The details of its management were intrusted to an executive board of nineteen, commonly called the *Assembly of Nineteen*. The States-General further promis-

ed, on their part, to give the Company a million of guilders, and in case of war, to supply ships and men. Meanwhile, the Puritans, not disheartened, reached Plymouth Rock, and thus conveyed their faith and traffic to the shores of New England, where they continue to this day.

The West India Company now began to colonize the new province with fresh zeal. The Amsterdam Chamber in

1623. 1623, fitted out a ship of 250 tons, the *New Netherland*, in which thirty families embarked for the distant territory whose name she bore. Captain Wey commanded the expedition, having been appointed the



FIRST SAW-MILL ON THE HUDSON.

first director of the province. Most of these colonists were *Wallons*, or French Protestants, from the borders

of France and Belgium, who sought in a strange land a refuge from religious persecutions.

With the arrival of the *New Netherland*, a new era in the domestic history of the settlement began. Soon saw-mills supplied the necessary timber for comfortable dwellings, in the place of the bark-huts built after the Indian fashion. The new buildings were generally one-story high, with two rooms on a floor, and a thatched roof garret. From the want of brick and mortar the chimneys were constructed of wood. The interior was, as a matter of course, very scantily supplied with furniture—the great chest from *Futherland*, with its prized household goods, being the most imposing article. Tables were generally the heads of barrels placed on end; rough shelves constituted the cupboard; and chairs were logs of wood rough-hewn from the forest. To complete the furniture, there was the well known "*Sloop Banck*," or sleeping-bench—the bedstead—where lay the boast, the pride, the comfort of a Dutch housekeeper, the feather-bed. Around the present Battery and Coenties Slip and Bowling Green were the houses, a few of which were surrounded by gardens. The fruit-trees often excited the thievish propensities of the natives; and one devastating war followed the shooting of an Indian girl while stealing peaches from an orchard on Broadway, near the present Bowling Green. Meanwhile, commerce kept pace with the new houses; and the staunch ship, the *New Netherland*, returned to Holland with a cargo of furs valued at \$12,000.

Anxious to fulfill its part of the agreement, the West India Company, in 1625, also sent out to Manhat-
tan three ships and a yacht, containing a large 1625.
number of families armed with farming implements, and one hundred and three head of cattle. Fearing the cattle might be lost in the surrounding forests, the settlers landed them on Nutten's (Governor's) Island, but

afterward conveyed them to Manhattan. Two more vessels shortly after arrived from Holland, and the settlement soon numbered some 200 persons, and gave promise of permanency.

In the year 1624, Wey returned to Holland, and was succeeded in the Directorship by William Verhulst. The latter, however, did not long enjoy the emoluments of office, for at the end of a year he also was recalled, and Peter Minuit appointed, in his place, Director-General of New Netherland, with full power to organize a provisional government. He arrived May 4, 1626, in the ship
• 1626. *Sea-Mew*, Adrian Joris, captain. The first seal was now granted to the province, having for a crest, a beaver, than which, for a coat of arms, nothing could have been more appropriate. It was fitting that the earliest Hollanders of the "Empire City" should thus honor the animal that was fast enriching them in their newly-adopted home.

To the credit of Director Minuit, be it said, the very first act of his administration was to purchase in an open and honorable manner the Island of Manhattan from the Indians for sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars. The Island itself was estimated to contain 22,000 acres. The price paid, it is true, was a mere trifle, but the purchase itself was lawful and satisfactory to the aboriginal owners—a fact which cannot be truly said in regard to other regions taken from the Indians.

To assist him in carrying out his instructions, the Director was furnished with an Executive Council. The latter body was, in turn, assisted by the *Koopman*, who acted as Secretary to the province and book-keeper of the public warehouse. Last of all, came the *Schout-Fiscal*, a civil factotum, half sheriff and attorney-general, executive officer of the Council, and general custom-house official. Thus early had the Dutch an eye to the "main chance."

the export of furs that year (1626) amounting to \$19,000, and giving promise of a constant increase.

Some thirty rudely-constructed log-houses at this time extended along the shores of the East River, which, with a block-house, a horse-mill, and the "Company's" thatched stone building, constituted the City of New York two hundred and forty-two years ago. A clergyman or school-master was as yet unknown in the infant colony. Every settler had his own cabin and cows, tilled his land, or traded with the Indians—all were busy, like their own emblem, the beaver.

In the year 1629, the "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions" was granted in Holland, and 1629. *patroons* were allowed to settle in the new colony. This important document transplanted the old feudal tenure and burdens of Continental Europe to the free soil of America. The proposed *Patrooneries* were only transcripts of the *Seigneuries* and *Lordships* so common at that period, and which the French were, at the same time, establishing in Canada. In that province, even at the present day, the feudal appendages of jurisdiction, pre-emption rights, monopolies of mines, minerals, and waters, with hunting, fishing, and fowling, form a part of the civil law. Pursuing, however, a more liberal policy, the grantees of the charter to the New Netherland *patroons* secured the Indian's right to his native soil, at the same time that they enjoined schools and churches.

Meanwhile, the settlement of New Netherland, continuing to prosper, soon became the principal *depot* for the fur and coasting trade of the *patroons*. The latter were obliged to land all their cargoes at Fort Amsterdam; and the years 1629-'30, the imports from old 1630. Amsterdam amounted to 113,000 guilders, and the exports from Manhattan exceeded 130,000. The Company reserved the exclusive right to the fur trade,

and imposed a duty of five per cent. on all the trade of the *patroons*.

The inhabitants, in order not to be idle, turned their attention, with fresh zeal, to ship-building, and with so much success, that as early as 1631, New Amsterdam had become the metropolis of the New World. 1631. The *New Netherland*, a ship of 800 tons, was built at Manhattan, and dispatched to Holland—an important event of the times, since the vessel was one of the largest merchantmen of the world. It was a very costly experiment, however, and was not soon repeated. Emigrants from all nations now began to flock into the new colony. They were principally induced to come by the liberal offers of the Dutch Company, who transported them in its own vessels at the cheap rate of twelve and a half cents *per diem* for passage and stores; giving them, also, as a still further inducement, as much land as they could cultivate. Nor were these the only reasons which caused so many to leave their *Fatherland*. With a wise and liberal policy, totally different from that of its eastern neighbors, the Dutch province allowed the fullest religious toleration. The Walloons, Calvinists, Huguenots, Quakers, Catholics, and Jews, found a safe home in New Netherland, and laid the broad and solid foundation of that tolerant character ever since retained by the City of New York. In her streets and broad avenues may be seen, on any Sabbath, Jews, Gentiles, and Christians, worshipping God in their sacred temples, “according to the dictates of their own consciences.”

In the meantime the Directors of the West India Company calculated, with the strong aid of the *patroons*, upon colonizing the new country, and, at the same time, securing the important free trade in their own hands. But they were met, almost at the outset, with serious opposition from that class who, not content with a nega-

tive policy, took active measures seriously to injure this traffic. From the first, the object of the *patroons* had seemed to be a participation in the Indian trade, rather than the colonization of the country; and they had even claimed the privilege of trafficking with the Indians from Florida to Newfoundland, according to their charter of 1629. This extensive trade the West India Company justly considered an interference with their vested rights and interests, and no time was lost in presenting their complaints to the States-General. That body thereupon adopted new articles, the effect of which was essentially to limit the privileges already granted to the *patroons*. This misunderstanding had the effect of interrupting, for a time, the efforts making to colonize and advance the new country. At length, in 1632, both parties became in a complete state of antagonism as to their privileged charters, and, for a little time, a civil war seemed inevitable. In the same year (1632), Peter Minuit, the Director, it will be remembered, of New Netherland, was suspected of favoring the *patroons*, and was recalled from his Directorship. He returned to Holland in the ship *Eendragt* (which had brought over his dismissal), which carried also a return cargo of 5,000 beaver-skins—an evidence of the colony's commercial prosperity. The vessel, driven by stress of weather, put into the harbor of Plymouth, where she was retained on the ground of having illegally interfered with English monopolies. This arrest of the Dutch trader led to a correspondence between the rival powers, in which the respective claims of each were distinctly set forth. The Hollanders claimed the province on the following grounds: 1st. Its discovery by them in the year 1609; 2d. The return of their people in 1616; 3d. The grant of a trading charter in 1614; 4th. The maintenance of a fort, until 1621, when the West India Company was organized; and, 5th. Their purchase

of the land from the Indians. The English, on the contrary, defended their right of possession on the ground of the prior discovery by Cabot, and the patent of James I. to the Plymouth Company. The Indians, they argued, as wanderers, were not the *bona fide* owners of the land, and hence, had no right to dispose of it; consequently, their titles must be invalid. But England, being at this period just on the eve of a civil war, was in no condition to enforce her claims; and she, therefore, having released the *Eendragt*, contented herself with the mere assumption of authority—reserving the accomplishment of her designs until a more convenient season.

At length, in the month of April, 1633, the
1633. ship *Soutberg* reached Manhattan with Wouter Van Twiller, the new Director-General (or Governor) and a military force of one hundred and four soldiers, together with a Spanish caraval, captured on the way. Among the passengers, also, came Dominie Everardus Bogardus and Adam Roelandsen, the first regular clergyman and school-master of New Amsterdam. A church now became indispensable; and the room over the horse-mill, where prayers had been regularly read for seven years, was abandoned for a rude, wooden church, on Pearl, between Whitehall and Broad streets, on the shore of the East River. This was the first Reformed Dutch Church in the city; and near by were constructed the parsonage and the Dominie's stables. The grave-yard was laid out on Broadway, in the vicinity of Morris street.

Van Twiller occupied "Farm No. 1" of the Company, which extended from Wall to Hudson street. "Farm No. 3," at Greenwich, he appropriated as his tobacco plantation. The new Governor and the Dominie did not harmonize. Bogardus having interfered in public concerns, which Van Twiller resented, the former, from his pulpit, pronounced the Governor a "Child of Satan." This,

doubtless, was very true, but the "Child of Satan" became so incensed, that he never entered the church-door again. In 1638, "for slandering the Rev. E. Bogardus," an old record states, "a woman was obliged to appear at the sound of a bell, in the fort, before the Governor and Council, and say that she knew he was honest and pious, and that she had lied falsely." 1638.

Van Twiller had been promoted from a clerkship in the Company's warehouse, and seems to have been a very incompetent Governor. He probably obtained the place, not from fitness, but from the same means which act in similar cases at the present day, viz., political influence, arising from the fact that he had married the daughter of Killian Van Rensselaer, the wealthy *patroon*.

The Company had authorized him to fortify the depots of the fur trade. Accordingly, the fort on the Battery, commenced in the year 1626, was rebuilt, and a guard-house and barracks prepared for the soldiers. Several brick and stone dwellings were erected within the fort, and three wind-mills, used to grind the grain necessary for the garrison, on the southwest bastion of the fort. African slaves were the laborers principally engaged upon these improvements. At a subsequent period, when these slaves had grown old, they petitioned the authorities for their freedom, and recounted their services at the time mentioned in support of their application, in proof of which they presented a certificate given them by their overseer: "That, during the administration of Van Twiller, he (Jacob Stoffelsen), as overseer of the Company's negroes, was continually employed with said negroes in the construction of Fort Amsterdam, which was finished in 1635; and that the negroes assisted in chopping trees for 1635. the big house, making and splitting palisades, and other work." The "big house" here referred to was the Governor's residence. It was built of brick, and was, no

doubt, a substantial edifice, as it is found to have served for the residence of successive chiefs of the colony during all the Dutch era, and for a few years subsequent.

In respect to the walls of the fort, they were in no wise improved by the incompetent Van Twiller, except the northwest bastion, which was faced with stone. The other parts of the walls were simply banks of earth without ditches; nor were they even surrounded by a fence to keep off the goats and other animals running at large in the town. When Governor Kieft arrived in 1638,

1638. as Van Twiller's successor, he found the fort in a decayed state, "opening on every side, so that nothing could obstruct going in or coming out, except at the stone point." Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the fort exercised a very salutary influence in keeping the Indians at a respectful distance.*

In 1633, the commercial importance of New
1633. Amsterdam was increased by the grant of the "Staple Right," a sort of feudal privilege similar to the institutions of the *Fatherland*. By it, all vessels trading along the coast, or sailing on the rivers, were obliged either to discharge their cargoes at the port, or pay certain duties. This soon became a valuable right, as it gave to New Amsterdam the commercial monopoly of the whole Dutch province.

A short time before the arrival of Governor Van Twiller, De Vries, whose little colony at Snaaendaal, Delaware,

* In 1641, an Indian war broke out, and raged for many months, resulting in the complete devastation of most of the farms and exposed settlements, even those lying within a stone's-throw of Fort Amsterdam. The frightened settlers fled to the fort; but the accommodation in the fort not affording them an adequate shelter, they established their cottages as close as possible to the protecting ramparts. Thus it was that two or three new streets were formed around the southern and eastern walls of the fort. After the danger had passed, these buildings were allowed to remain, and grants of land were made to the possessors. Thus was formed that portion of the present Pearl street west of Whitehall street, and also a portion of the latter street.—*Valentine's Manual*.

had been cut off by the Indians, returned to America on a visit, in the mammoth ship *New Netherland*. A yacht, about this time, also arrived—the English ship, *William*, with Jacob Eelkins, who had been dismissed from his office of supercargo by the Company, in 1632. Enraged by this dismissal, he had entered the service of the English, and had now returned to promote their interests in the fur trade on the Mauritius (Hudson) River.

This was a bold act, and contrary to the policy of the West India Company. Accordingly, Van Twiller, who, though an inefficient Governor, was a thorough merchant, and understood the important monopoly of the fur trade, refused permission for the vessel to proceed further on its way. His demand upon Eelkins for his commission was refused by the latter, on the ground that he occupied British territory, and would sail up the river at the cost, if need be, of his life. Thereupon, the Director, ordering the national flag to be hoisted, and three guns fired in honor of the Prince of Orange, forbade him to proceed further. But, far from being daunted by this prohibition, Eelkins answered by running up, in his turn, the British colors, firing a salute for King Charles, and coolly steering up the river in defiance of Fort Amsterdam. The amazement of Van Twiller at the audacity of the ex-Dutch Agent may be easily imagined. Astonished, as he was, at this daring act, the Director, nevertheless, proceeded very philosophically: First, he summoned all the people in front of the fort, now the Bowling Green; next, he ordered a cask of wine, and another of beer; then, filling his own glass, he called on all good citizens who loved the Prince of Orange to follow his patriotic example, and drink confusion to the English Government. The people, of course, were not slow in obeying this reasonable request; indeed, what more could they do, for the English ship was now far beyond all reach, safely pursuing her way up the Hudson.

Still, while they drank his wine, they were deeply mortified at the Governor's cowardice. De Vries openly accused him with it, and plainly told him, if it had been his case, he should have sent some "eight-pound beans" after the impudent Englishman, and helped him down the river again; but it being now too late to do this, he should send the *Soutberg* after him, and drive him down the river. The effect of this advice was not lost upon the Governor; for, a few days after, Van Twiller screwed up his courage sufficiently to dispatch an armed force to Fort Orange (Albany), where Eelkins had pitched his tent, and where he was found busily engaged in trading with the Indians. The Dutch soldiers quickly destroyed his canvas store, and, reshipping the goods, brought the vessel back to Fort Amsterdam. Eelkins was then required to give up his peltry; after which he was sent to sea, with the warning never again to interfere with the Dutch Government trade.

Meanwhile the settlement at Fort Amsterdam—the New York embryo—continued to increase and prosper, men of enterprise and wealth often arriving. Most of these came from the Dutch Netherlands, and thus transferred the domestic economy and habits of Holland and the Rhine to the banks of the Hudson. Ships were loaded with bricks, burnt in Holland; and at first, every dwelling was modeled after those they had left, and with storerooms for trade, like those of Amsterdam and other trading towns in *Fatherland*. Thus, at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange rows of houses could be seen built of imported brick, with thatched roofs, wooden chimneys, and their gable ends always toward the street. Inside were all the neatness, frugality, order, and industry which the inmates brought from their native land. A few of these original, venerable Dutch homes were to be seen, till within a year or two, in this city; but we do not know of a single one now. Several yet remain in Albany; and it

is almost worth a trip there to see these striking relics of "ye olden time." Until the year 1642, city lots and streets were unknown, adventurers and settlers selecting land wherever most convenient for their purpose. Hence the crooked courses of some of our down-town streets.*



DUTCH MANSION AND COTTAGE IN NEW AMSTERDAM.

Cornelis Dircksen owned a farm by the present Peck Slip, and ferried passengers across the East River for the small price of three stivers, in *wampum*. At that time, Pearl street formed the bank of the river—Water, Front, and South streets, having all been reclaimed for the purpose of increasing trade and commerce. The old wooden, *shingled* house, one of the last venerable relics of the olden

* Pearl street, for instance.

time, on the corner of Peck Slip, was so near the river that a stone could easily be thrown into it. Pearl, it is thought, was the first street occupied, the first houses being built there, in 1633. Bridge street came next; and a deed is still in existence for a lot on it, thirty-four by one hundred and ten feet, for the sum of twenty-four guilders, or nine dollars and sixty cents. *This is the earliest conveyance of city property on record.* Whitehall, Stone, Broad, Beaver, and Marketfield streets were opened soon after. In the year 1642, the first grant of a ^{1642.} city lot, east of the fort at the Battery, was made to Hendricksen Kip. During the next year, several lots were granted on the lower end of "Heere Straat," as Broadway was then named. Martin Krigier was the first grantee of a lot in this section, opposite the Bowling Green, which contained eighty-six rods. There he built the well-known Krigier's Tavern," which soon became a fashionable resort.*

Nor during all this time did the fur trade fail to keep pace with the growing local prosperity of the place. During the year 1635, the Directors in Holland received returns from the province to the amount of nearly 185,000 guilders. But the monopoly of the traffic in furs was not the only source of gain. A profitable commerce was also carried on with New England. Dutch vessels brought tobacco, salt, horses, oxen, and sheep from Holland to Boston. An old account says they came from the Texel in five weeks and three days, "and lost not one beast or sheep." Potatoes from Bermuda were worth two pence the pound; a good cow, twenty-five or thirty pounds; and

* Upon the demolition of this building its site was occupied by the "King's Arms' Tavern," which, in after years, was the head-quarters of the British General Gage. Subsequently, it became the "Atlantic Garden," No. 9 Broadway, where it long remained one of the striking mementoes of the olden time.

a pair of oxen readily brought forty pounds. In Virginia, corn rose to twenty shillings the bushel during the year 1637; a shepel, or three pecks of rye, brought two guilders, or eighty cents; and a laborer readily earned, during harvest, two guilders *per diem*. These were high prices for those times, and were probably caused, in a measure, by the sanguinary war which the New England Puritans* were carrying on with their Indian neighbors. The Pequods, failing to deliver the murderers of Stone, according to treaty, had tendered an atonement of *wampum*, but Massachusetts demanded "blood for blood;" and she obtained it in the wars that followed. Winthrop says, "Scarcely a *sunnup*, a woman, a *squaw*, or a child of the Pequod name survived." It is the fashion to indulge in much panegyric about these ancestral doings, but here can be calmly traced the *first* attempt of the white race to extirpate the red men from their ancestral birthright to the northern regions of America.

Notwithstanding, however, the large prices obtained for its wares, the year 1638 found the condition of New Netherland very unpromising. Although its 1638. affairs had now been administered for fifteen years by that powerful body, the West India Company, still, the country was scarcely removed from its primitive wilderness state, and, excepting the Indians, it was inhabited by only a few traders and clerks of a distant corporation. Its rich virgin soil remained almost entirely uncultivated, and the farms did not amount to more than half a dozen. Doubtless, the Directors of the West India Company governed New Netherland chiefly to promote their own special interests—to advance which, large sums had been expended;

* *Puritans*, not *Pilgrims*. These terms, though generally used synonymously, refer to two entirely different classes of men. The *Pilgrims* never practiced religious persecution; the *Puritans* did. The *Pilgrims* came over to the New World some fifteen years earlier than the *Puritans*.

and, as a natural consequence, no efforts had as yet been made to introduce, on a large scale, a sound and industrious emigration. The *patroon* system, also, to which reference has already been made, greatly retarded the settlement of the colony. A monopoly, its *patroons* neglected their most important duties as planters, and used their energies and means to compete with the Company in the Indian trade; consequently, misunderstandings and disputes followed, which became almost fatal to the prosperity of the new settlement.

• At this critical moment, William Kieft, the third Director-General and Governor, arrived March, 1638, as the successor of the weak Van Twiller. His first step was to organize a Council, retaining, however, its entire control. Dr. Johannes La Montagne, a learned Huguenot, was appointed by him a member of this new board; Cornelis Van Tienhoven, from Utrecht, one of the oldest settlers, was made Colonial Secretary, with a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars *per annum*; while Ulrich Leopold continued as Schout-Fiscal, or Sheriff and Attorney-General. Adrian Dircksen was made Assistant-Commissary, "because he spoke correctly the language of the Mohawks, and was well versed in the art of trading with them." The Rev. Mr. Bogardus continued the Dominie, and Adam Roelandsen the School-master.*

The new Governor found the town in an extremely dilapidated condition. The fort had fallen completely into decay; all the guns were off their carriages; and the public buildings, as well as the church, were all out of repair; only one of the three wind-mills was in opera-

* La Montagne, as Member of the Council, received fourteen dollars a month; the book-keeper, fourteen dollars and forty cents, with eighty dollars for his yearly board; the mason, eight dollars; a joiner, six dollars and forty cents; a carpenter, seven dollars and fifty cents, and forty dollars a year for board

tion; and the Company's fine farms had no tenants—not even a goat remaining upon them. But the new Governor came charged with more onerous duties than simply the repair of houses; he was the bearer of a decree that no person in the Dutch Company's employ should trade in peltry, or import any furs, under penalty of losing his wages, and a confiscation of his goods. Abuses also existed in all the departments of the public service, which Kieft vainly attempted to remedy by proclamations. Death was threatened against all who should sell guns or powder to the Indians; after nightfall, all sailors were to remain on board their vessels; no persons could retail any liquors, "except those who sold wine at a decent price, and in moderate quantities," under penalty of twenty-five guilders (ten dollars), and the loss of their stock. Tobacco, then as now, was greatly in demand, the rich virgin soil about New Amsterdam suiting the plant well; consequently, plantations for its cultivation increased so fast, that the plant was now also subjected to excise, and regulations were published by the Directory to regulate its mode of culture, and check certain abuses which were injuring "the high name" it had "gained in foreign countries."* But the new Governor did not confine himself to correcting *official* abuses solely; he issued proclamations to improve the *moral* condition of the settlement; and all persons were seriously enjoined to abstain from "fighting, calumny, and all other immoralities," as the guilty would be punished, and made a terror to evil-doers. Rightly judging, also, that public worship would be a peaceful auxiliary to his labors, and the old wooden church built by Van Twiller having fallen to pieces, he determined to erect a new one inside the fort. Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Jan Jansen Damen, with Kieft and Captain De Vries, as

"Kirke Meesters," superintended the new work, and John and Richard Ogden were the masons. The building was of stone, seventy-two by fifty-two feet, and sixteen high, and cost 2,500 guilders. Its legend, translated from the Dutch, read: "Anno Domini 1642, William Kieft, Director-General, hath the Commonalty caused to build this temple." New Amsterdam had a town-bell; this was now removed to the belfry of the new church, whence it regulated the city movements, the time for laborers and the courts. It also pealed the weddings, tolled the funerals, and called the people to the Lord's House.*

Hardly, however, had Kieft got his plans for the moral reformation of his people fairly under way, when, as before hinted, the *patroons* began to give fresh trouble; that class now (1638) demanded "new privileges"—"that they might monopolize more territory, be invested with the largest feudal powers, and enjoy free trade throughout New Netherland." Nor was this all. In their arrogance, they also demanded that all "private persons" and "poor emigrants" should be forbidden to purchase lands from the Indians, and should settle within the colonies under the jurisdiction of the manorial lords—*i. e., themselves.*

These grasping demands of the *patroons* were reserved for future consideration by the States-General; and it was

* At this period the settlers of New Amsterdam obtained their supplies from the Company's store at fifty per cent. advance on prime cost, a list of prices being placed in a conspicuous position in some place of public resort. Here are some of the rates: Indian corn, sixty cents per schepel of three pecks; barley, two dollars; peas, three dollars and twenty-five cents; flour, one dollar; pork, five stivers; fresh meat, five; butter, eight; tobacco, seven; dried fish, twelve (two York shillings) per pound; hard-bread, fifteen; rye, five; wheaten, seven; cabbage, twelve dollars per hundred; staves, thirty-two dollars per thousand; a hog, eight dollars; ordinary wine, thirty-one dollars per hogshead; Spanish wine, four stivers; French wine, ten per quart; sugar, seventeen and twenty-four per pound; flannel, one dollar and twenty cents per ell; cloth, two dollars; white linen, eighteen to twenty stivers; red flannels, one dollar and twenty cents; children's shoes, thirty-six stivers, or six York shillings; a pair of brass kettles, forty cents each.

determined to try free competition in the internal trade of New Netherland. A notification was accordingly published by the Amsterdam Chamber, that all the inhabitants of the United Provinces, and of friendly countries, might convey to New Netherland, "in the Company's ships," any cattle and merchandise, and might "receive whatever returns they or their agents may be able to obtain in those quarters therefor." A duty of ten per cent. was paid to the Company on all goods exported from New Netherland with the freight. Every emigrant, upon his arrival at New Amsterdam, was to receive "as much land as he and his family could properly cultivate." This liberal system gave a great impulse to the prosperity of New Netherland, by encouraging the emigration of substantial colonists, not only from Holland, but from Virginia and New England. *Conscience* had ever been free in New Netherland, and now trade and commerce were likewise made free to all. Political franchise in Massachusetts was limited to church members, and now "many men began to inquire after the southern ports," not from the climate there, or the necessary wants of life, but, in the language of the old chronicler, "to escape their insupportable government." The only obligation required of emigrants was an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the colony, the same as imposed upon the Dutch settlers. Both parties enjoyed equal privileges.

This free internal trade, however, produced some irregularities; and a new proclamation soon became necessary to warn all persons against selling guns or ammunition to the Indians. Still another edict prohibited persons from sailing to Fort Orange (Albany), and the South River (Fort Hope), and returning without a passport. Another very unpopular edict, also, was shortly after issued by Kieft. His extreme anxiety to serve his patrons caused him to "demand some tribute" of maize, furs, or *sewant*,

from the neighboring Indians, "whom," he said, "we have thus far defended against their enemies;" and in case of their refusal, proper measures were to be taken to "remove their reluctance."

In regard, however, to the Governor's proclamation against selling guns, &c., to the Indians, nothing can be said against it. The case demanded it. Freedom of trade with the savages had, indeed, run into abuses and injurious excesses.

The colonists neglected agriculture for the quicker gains of traffic; and at times, by settling "far in the interior of the country," and, by "great familiarity and treating," brought themselves into contempt with the Indians. Evil consequences, as a matter of course, followed this unwise conduct—the most unfortunate of which was the supplying of the savages with new weapons of war. They considered the gun, at first, "the *Devil*," and would not even touch it; but, once discovering its fatal use, eagerly sought the fire-arms of the whites. They would willingly barter twenty beaver-skins for a single musket, and pay ten or twelve guilders for a pound of powder. As no merchandise became so valuable to the red men, the West India Company foresaw the evil of arming the savages, and declared the trade in fire-arms contraband. It even forbade the supply to the New Netherland Indians, under penalty of death. But the prospect of large profits easily nullified this law of prudence and wisdom.

1640. In 1640, Director Kieft determined upon another unwise measure, viz., the exaction of a contribution, or rather a tax, of corn, furs, and *wampum* from the Indians, about Fort Amsterdam. This and other improper acts entirely estranged them from the settlers, and laid the foundation of a bloody war, which, the next year (1641), desolated New Netherland. Meanwhile, Kieft, continuing stubborn sent sloops to Tappan to levy con-

tributions; but the natives indignantly refused to pay the novel tribute. In their own plain language, they wondered how the Sachem at the fort dared to exact such things from them. He must be, they said, a very shabby fellow; he had come to live in their land, where they had not invited him, and now came to deprive them of their corn, for no equivalent. They, therefore, refused to pay, adding this unanswerable argument: "If we have ceded to you the country you are living in, we yet remain masters of what we have retained for ourselves!"

Notwithstanding, however, the many injudicious acts of Governor Kieft, it cannot be denied that, during his administration, the trade of New Amsterdam began to be better regulated. The streets of the town, also, were better laid out in the lower section of the city.* In 1641, Kieft instituted two annual fairs, for the purpose of encouraging agriculture—one of which was held in October, for cattle; and the other the next month, for hogs, upon the Bowling Green. The holding of these fairs opened the way for another important addition to the comfort of the town. No tavern, as yet, had been started in the Dutch settlement; and the numerous visitors from the interior and the New England colonies were forced to avail themselves of the Governor's hospitalities. The fairs increasing in number, Kieft found them a heavy tax upon his politeness, as well as his larder; and, in 1642, he erected a large stone tavern, at the Company's expense. It was situated on a commanding spot, near the present Coenties Slip, and was afterward altered into the "*Stadt Huys*," or City Hall.

The Governor now succeeded better, not only in enforcing law and restraining contraband trade, but in check-

* The price of lots, 30x125 feet, averaged at this period about \$14.

ing the importation of bad *wampum*, which had become a serious loss to the traders, by reducing its value from four to six beads for a stiver.

Wampum or *sewant*, from its close connection with the early trade of New Netherland, requires special notice. This kind of money, or circulating medium, embraced two kinds, the *wampum* or white, and the Suckanhook sucki, or black *sewant*. The former was made from the periwinkle, and the latter from the purple part of the hard clam. These, rounded into beads and polished, with drilled holes, were strung upon the sinews of animals, and woven into different sized belts. Black beads were twice as valuable as the white, and the latter became, therefore, naturally, the standard of value. A string, a fathom long,* was worth four guilders. The best article was manufactured by the Long Island Indians; and, until a comparatively late period, the Montauks on that island, or rather, their descendants, manufactured this shell-money for the interior tribes. A clerk of John Jacob Astor many years ago informed the Hon. G. P. Disosway that he had visited Communipaw, and purchased for his employer, from the Dutch, this article by the *bushel*, to be used by the great fur dealer in his purchases among the distant savages. It might, perhaps, be a curious question, how many bushels of *wampum* are invested, for example, in the hotel which bears the name of the great fur millionaire? The New England Indians, imitating their whiter-faced neighbors, made a *cheaper wampum*, rough, of inferior quality, and badly strung. Nor was it long before the New Englanders introduced large quantities of their imperfect beads into New Netherland for the Dutchman's goods; next,

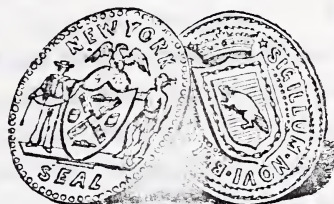
* A "fathom" was estimated at "much as a man could reach with his arms outstretched." The savages, consequently, were shrewd enough (in trading with the whites) to choose their largest and tallest men for measuring sticks or standards.

beads of porcelain were manufactured in Europe, and circulated among the colonists, until the evil finally became so great, that the Council, in 1641, published an ordinance, declaring that a large quantity of bad *sewant*, imported from other places, was in circulation, while the good and really fine *sewant*, usually called "Manhattan *Sewant*," was kept out of sight, or exported—a state of things which must eventually ruin the country. To cure this public evil, the ordinance provided that all coarse *sewant*, well stringed, should pass for one stiver. This is the first ordinance, on record, to regulate such currency. In the year 1647, they were again reduced from six to eight for a stiver, and thus became the commercial "greenbacks" of the early Dutch.

About this period, the increasing intercourse and business with the English settlements made it necessary that more attention should be paid to the English language. Governor Kieft had, it is true, some knowledge of the English tongue; but his subordinates were generally ignorant of it—a circumstance which often caused great embarrassment. George Baxter was accordingly appointed his English Secretary, with a salary of two hundred dollars *per annum*; and thus, for the first time, the English language was officially recognized in New Amsterdam.

As the colony grew stronger, the Dutch scattered themselves further into the interior; established themselves more firmly at Manhattan; and thus gave to the City of New York its first incorporation two hundred and nineteen years ago. The ferries received early attention from the corporation. No one was permitted to be a ferryman, without a license from the magistrates. The ferryman also was required to provide proper boats and servants, with houses, on both sides of the river, to accommodate passengers. All officials passed free of toll; or, to speak more in accordance with the language of the

present day, were *dead-heads*. But the ferryman was not compelled to cross the river in a tempest. Foot-passengers were charged three stivers each, except Indians, who paid six, unless two or more went over together.* The annual salary of the Burgomasters was also, at this period, fixed at three hundred and fifty guilders, and the Shepens at two hundred and fifty. A corporate seal was granted to the city, in which the principal object was a *beaver*, as was also the case, as has been seen, with the seal of New Netherland.



SEALS OF NEW AMSTERDAM AND NEW YORK.

The first charter of New Netherland restricted, as we have seen, the commercial privileges of the *patroons*; but in the year 1640 they were extended to "all free colonists," and the stockholders in the Dutch Company. Nevertheless, the latter body adhered to onerous imports, for its own benefit, and required a duty of ten per cent. on all goods shipped to New Netherland, and five upon return cargoes, excepting peltry, which paid ten at Manhattan, before exported. The prohibition of manufactures within the province was now abolished, and the Company renewed its promise to send over "as many blacks as possible."

1643. In 1643, the colonists easily obtained goods from the Company's warehouse, whither they were obliged to bring their fur purchases, before ship-

* On the 19th of March, 1658, the New Amsterdam and Long Island Ferry was put up at auction, and leased for three hundred guilders *per annum*.

ment to Holland. The furs were then generally sold at Amsterdam, under the supervision of the *patroon*, whose share, at first, was one-half, but was afterward reduced to one-sixth. Under this system, the price of a beaver's skin, which before 1642 had been six, now rose to ten "fathoms." It was, therefore, considered proper for the colonial authorities to regulate this traffic; and they, accordingly, fixed the price at nine "fathoms" of white *wampum*, at the same time forbidding all persons to "go into the bush to trade." Another proclamation declared that "no inhabitants of the colonies should presume to buy any goods from the residents." It would appear, however, that these ordinances could not be enforced; for a sloop, soon after arriving with a cargo, the colonists purchased what they wanted. The commissary was then ordered to search the houses for concealed goods. But the old record naively says: "The Schout gossipped, without making a search."

In 1644, the ever-busy New Englanders—im-
agining that the beavers came from "a great lake 1644.
in the northwest part" of their patent—began to covet a share in the fur trade on the Delaware. Accordingly, an expedition was dispatched from Boston to "sail up the Delaware, as high as they could go; and some of the company, under the conduct of Mr. William Aspinwall, a good artist, and one who had been in those parts, to pass by small skiffs or canoes up the river, so far as they could." The expedition failing, another bark "was sent out the same year, from Boston, to trade at Delaware." Wintering in the bay, during the spring she went to the Maryland side, and, in three weeks obtained five hundred beaver-skins—a "good parcel." But this second Boston trading voyage was ruined by the savages; for, as the bark was leaving, fifteen Indians came aboard, "as if they would trade again," and suddenly drawing their hatchets

from under their coats, killed the captain, with three of the crew, and then rifled the vessel of all her goods.

This continued interference of New England adventurers with the Delaware trade, at length became very annoying to Kieft, as well as to Printz, the Swedish Governor of the Delaware colony. The Dutch at New Amsterdam, as the earliest explorers of South River, had seen their trading monopoly there invaded by the Swedes; but when the New Englanders made their appearance in pursuit of the same prize, the Swedes made common cause with the Dutch to repel the new intruders. The question of sovereignty was soon raised abroad by the arrival of two Swedish ships, the *Key of Kalmar* and the *Flame*, sent home by Printz with large cargoes of tobacco and beaver-skins. Bad weather, and the war which had just arisen between Denmark and Sweden, obliged these vessels to run into the Port of Harlington, in Friesland. There they were seized by the West India Company, which not only claimed sovereignty over all the regions around the South River, but exacted the import duties that their charter granted. The Swedish Minister at the Hague protested against these exactions; and a long correspondence ensued, which resulted in the vessels being discharged the following summer upon the payment of the import duties.

During the year 1644, Kieft, headstrong and imprudent as usual, became involved in a war with the New England Indians. At this juncture of affairs, a ship arrived from Holland with a cargo of goods for Van Rensselaer's *patroonery*; and Kieft, the Dutch forces being in want of clothing, called upon the supercargo to furnish fifty pairs of shoes for the soldiers, offering full payment in silver, beaver, or *wampum*. The supercargo, however, zealously regarding his *patroon's* mercantile interests, refused to comply, whereupon the Governor ordered a levy, and obtained enough shoes to supply as "many sol-

diers as afterward killed five hundred of the enemy." The Governor, much provoked, next commanded the vessel to be thoroughly searched, when a large lot of guns and ammunition, not in the manifest, were discovered and declared contraband, and the ship and cargo confiscated. Winthrop says that he had on board 4,000 weight of powder and seven hundred guns, with which he proposed to carry on a trade with the natives. For such acts as these, Kieft seems to have been equally detested by Indians and Dutch, the former desiring his removal, and daily crying, "Wouter! Wouter!" meaning Wouter Van Twiller, his immediate predecessor.

Meanwhile, the Indian war continued; the Dutch settlers were in danger of utter destruction; and the expenses of the soldiery could not be met. Neither could the West India Company send aid to its unfortunate colony, as that body had been made bankrupt by its military operations in Brazil. A bill of exchange, drawn by Kieft upon the Amsterdam Chamber, came back protested. The demands for public money were too pressing to await the slow proceedings of an admiralty court; and accordingly, soon after this, on the 29th of May, 1644, a privateer, the *La Garce*, Captain Blauvelt, having been commissioned by the Governor to cruise in the West Indies, returned to Manhattan with two rich Spanish prizes.

Director Kieft now proposed to replenish the Provisional Treasury by an excise on wine, beer, brandy, and beaver-skins. This was opposed by his official advisers, or the so-called "Eight Men," because they thought such an act would be oppressive, and the right of taxation belonged to sovereignty, and not to an inferior officer in New Netherland. An old account says that the Director was "very much offended," and sharply reprimanded the people's representatives, declaring, "I have more power here than the Company has itself; therefore, I may do

and suffer in this country what I please; I am my own master." * * * Remaining immovable, however, he three days afterward arbitrarily ordered "that on each barrel of beer tapped, an excise duty of two guilders should be paid—one-half by the brewer, and one-half by the publican." But those Burghers who did not retail it were to pay only one-half as much. On every quart of brandy and wine also, four stivers were to be paid, and on every beaver-skin one guilder. Besides the excise on the beer, the brewers were also required to make a return of the quantity they brewed; but upon their sternly refusing to pay the unjust tribute, judgment was obtained against them, and their beer "given as a prize to the soldiers."



STREET VIEW IN ANCIENT ALBANY.

But notwithstanding all the efforts to restrain illicit traffic, it still continued at Rensselaerswyck (Albany), where three or four thousand furs had been carried away by unlicensed traders. Van Rensselaer, "as the first and oldest" *patroon* on the river, resolved that no one should

"presume to abuse" his acquired rights, and erected a fort on Beelen Island. A claim of "staple right" was set up, and Nicholas Koorn was appointed "Wacht-Meester," to levy a toll of five guilders upon all vessels passing by, except those of the West India Company, and to make them lower their colors to the merchant *patroon's* authority. This annoyance soon manifested itself, for while the *Good Hope*, a little yacht, Captain Loockermans, was passing down from Fort Orange to Manhattan, "a gun without ball" was fired from the new fort, and Koorn cried out, "Strike thy colors!" "For whom?" demanded the captain of the vessel. "For the staple right of Rensselaer!" was the reply. "I strike for nobody but the Prince of Orange, or those by whom I am employed!" retorted the testy Dutchman, as he slowly steered on. Several shots followed. "The first," according to the old account, "went through the sail, and broke the ropes and the ladder; a second shot passed over us; and the third, fired by a savage, perforated our princely colors, about a foot above the head of Loockermans, who kept the colors constantly in his hand."



OLD DUTCH CHURCH AT ALBANY.

For this daring act Koorn was forthwith called to answer before the Council at Fort Amsterdam, when he pleaded his *patroon's* authority. Van der Huyghens, the Schout-Fiscal (Sheriff), also protested against "the lawless transactions" of the *patroon's* wacht-meester. Still, the *patroon's* agent tried to justify his course, "inasmuch as this step had been taken to keep *the canker of free-traders* off his colonies." Nevertheless, he was fined, and forbidden to repeat his offense.

At length the pitiable condition of the New Netherland colony attracted the attention of the Dutch Government. Its originators, as before mentioned, had become nearly, if not entirely, bankrupt. To use their own official words, "the long-looked-for profits thence" had never arrived, and they themselves had no means to relieve "the poor inhabitants who had left their *Fatherland*;" accordingly, the bankrupt Company urged the "States-General" for a subsidy of 1,000,000 of guilders to place the Dutch province in good, prosperous, and profitable order.

That body directed an examination to be made into the affairs of New Netherland, and also into the propriety of restricting its internal trade to residents, with the policy of opening a free one between Brazil and Manhattan. Upon making this investigation, it was found that New Netherland, instead of becoming a source of commercial profit to the Company, had absolutely cost that body, from the year 1626 to 1644, "over 550,000 guilders, deducting returns received from there." Still, "the Company could not decently or consistently abandon it." The Director's salary, the report continues, should be 3,000 guilders, and the whole civil and military establishment of New Netherland 20,000 guilders. As many African negroes, it thought, should be brought from Brazil as the *patroons*, farmers, and settlers "would be willing to pay for at a fair price." It would thus appear that our Dutch forefathers had some-

thing to do with the slave trade, as well as the Eastern and Southern colonies. Free grants of land were to be offered to all emigrants on Manhattan Island; a trade allowed to Brazil and the fisheries; the manufacture and exportation of salt were to be encouraged, and the duties of the revenue officers "sharply attended to." Such was the business condition of New Netherland in the year 1645. The five previous years of Indian wars had hardly known five months of peace and prosperity. Kieft, perceiving his former errors, concluded a treaty of amity with the Indians, August 30th, 1645. In two years, not less than 1,600 savages had been killed at Manhattan and its neighborhood, and scarcely one hundred could be found besides traders. 1645.

The insufficient condition of the fort as a place of defense became the subject of serious consideration after this war, and the authorities in Holland, listening to the importunities of the colonists, gave directions for its improvement, requiring, however, that the people should contribute, to some extent, towards the labor and expense involved. In 1647, the subject was discussed in the Council of the Director-General, and a resolution was passed that the fort should be repaired with stone laid in mortar, "by which means alone," it was stated, "a lasting work could be made," inasmuch as the earth to be procured in the neighborhood was entirely unfit to make it stable with sods, unless it were annually renewed, nearly at the same expense; and, as this project required a considerable disbursement for labor in carrying the stone, etc., it was found expedient to consult the inhabitants, to learn the extent to which assistance would be afforded by them. In communicating their resolve to the people, the authorities referred to "this glorious work, which must increase the respect for the Government, as well as afford a safe retreat to the inhabitants in 1647.

case of danger." The suggestion was, that every male inhabitant, between the ages of sixteen and sixty years, should devote, annually, twelve days' labor, or, in lieu thereof, contribute for each day two guilders (eighty cents). But the project was found too expensive for the means at hand, and the completion of the work with stone was abandoned for the time, the work being repaired with earth as before. Nor does it appear that it was, as yet, protected by any inclosure from the inroads of the vagrant cattle, as the Director is found, from time to time, expostulating with the city authorities against permitting swine, goats, and other animals, to run at large in the town, from which great destruction to the works of the fortress ensued.*

Soon after the peace, in 1647, Kieft, having been recalled, embarked for Holland, carrying with him specimens of New Netherland minerals (gathered by the Raritan Indians in the Neversink Hills), and a fortune estimated by his enemies at 400,000 guilders. Dominie Bogardus and Van der Huygens, late Fiscal, were fellow-passengers in the richly-laden vessel. The ship, having been carelessly navigated into the English Channel, was wrecked upon the rugged coast of Wales, and went to pieces. Kieft, with eighty other persons, including Bogardus and the ex-Fiscal, were lost; only twenty were saved. Melyn, the *patroon* of Staten Island, floating on his back, landed on a sand-bank, and thence reached the main-land in safety.

* This matter came to be considered of so great importance, that, in 1656, Governor Stuyvesant again communicated with the Holland authorities respecting the improvement of the fort, and received from them a favorable response, stating that they had no objection to have the fort surrounded with a stone-wall, and were willing, in the ensuing spring, to send "a few good masons and carpenters to assist in the work," enjoining the Governor, in the meanwhile, to have the necessary materials prepared and in readiness when the mechanics should arrive.—*Valentine's Manual*.

CHAPTER II.

On the 11th of May, 1647, Governor Stuyvesant, as "Redresser-General" of all the colonial abuses, arrived at Manhattan, to enter upon an administration which was to last until the end of the Dutch power over New Netherland. Well might the new Governor write home that he "found the colony in a low condition." Disorder and discontent were everywhere apparent, the public revenue was in arrears, and smuggling had nearly ruined legitimate trade. Such were the auspices—sufficiently gloomy—under which the last of the Dutch Governors entered upon his administration. Far from despairing, however, the sturdy Dutchman put his shoulder at once to the wheel. Publicans were restrained from selling liquor before two o'clock on Sundays, "when there is no preaching," and after nine o'clock in the evening; to the savages none was to be sold. The revenue, greatly defrauded by smuggling furs into New England and Virginia for shipment to England, was henceforth to be guarded by stringent laws. The introduction of foreign merchandise by vessels running past Fort Amsterdam during the night was also to be stopped; and all vessels were obliged to anchor under the guns of the fort, near the present Battery. For the purpose of replenishing the treasury, an excise duty was now, for the first time, levied on wines and liquors; the

1647.

export duty on peltry was increased; the unpaid tenths from the impoverished farmers were called in, although a year's grace was allowed for payment, in consequence of losses by the Indian wars; and, in addition to all this, two of the Company's yachts, still further to increase the revenue, were sent on a cruise to the West Indies, to capture, if possible, some of the richly-laden Spanish vessels returning to Spain.

Stuyvesant, also, seems to have been the first Governor who took pride in improving the town itself. He found the infant city very unattractive, with half the houses in a dilapidated condition, cattle running at large, the public ways crooked, and the fences straggling in zig-zag fashion, many of them encroaching on the lines of the streets. All these evils he at once set about to remedy; and one of his earliest acts was to appoint the first "Surveyors of Buildings," whose duties were to regulate the erection of new houses in New Amsterdam.

The Dutch Company "now resolved to open to private persons the trade which it had exclusively carried on with New Netherland, the Virginia, the Swedish, English, and French colonies, or other places thereabout;" and the new Director and Council were ordered to be vigilant in enforcing all colonial custom-house regulations. All cargoes to New Netherland were to be examined, on arrival, by the custom-house officers, and all who were homeward-bound were to give bonds for the payment of duties in Holland. Nor was it long before Stuyvesant had an opportunity of showing his zeal. The *St. Benicio*, an Amsterdam ship, was found trading at New Haven without the license of the West India Company; but the owners of the cargo applied for permission to trade at Manhattan, upon the payment of the proper duties. This permit obtained, Stuyvesant learned that the ship was about to sail directly to Virginia, without having paid duties,

as well as without a manifest. The case having thus assumed an open violation of the colonial revenue laws, the Governor embarked a company of soldiers, who, sailing up the Sound, captured the smuggler in New Haven harbor. This bold act naturally produced a great sensation; and Eaton, the Governor of the New Haven colony, protested against Stuyvesant, as a disturber of the peace. In reply, Stuyvesant claimed all the region from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod as a part of New Netherland, with the right to levy duty upon all Dutch vessels trading at New Haven. A sharp correspondence ensued between the "State Right" parties, which resulted in the Dutch Governor issuing a proclamation, declaring, "If any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor—yea, to the lowest prisoner included, run away from New Haven, or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free, under our protection, on taking the oath of allegiance." The Dutch colonists, however, objected to this unwise measure as tending to change their province into a refuge for vagabonds from the neighboring English settlements, and the obnoxious proclamation was thereupon revoked.

About this period, 1648, it became necessary to regulate the taverns, as about one-fourth part of the town of New Amsterdam had become houses for 1648. the sale of brandy, tobacco, or beer. No new taverns, it was ordained, should be licensed, except by the unanimous consent of the Director and his Council; and those established might continue four years longer, if their owners would abstain from selling to the savages, report all brawls, and occupy decent houses—"to adorn the town of New Amsterdam." Notwithstanding, however, all these precautions, the Indians were daily seen "running about drunk through the Manhattans." New York, now the metropolitan city, witnesses every day and

night crowds of such drunken savages in her streets; and it would almost seem that our wise legislators have not wisdom or strength enough to frame laws to subdue or prevent this great public evil. Finally, at New Amsterdam, in addition to all the former penalties, offenders against the temperance laws were "to be arbitrarily punished without any dissimulation."

In the year 1648, no person was allowed to carry on business, except he was a permanent resident and had taken the oath of allegiance, was worth from two thousand to three thousand guilders at least, and intended to "keep fire and light in the province." This was an early expression of permanent residence in the Dutch province. Old residents, however, not possessing the full trading qualifications, were allowed the same privilege, provided they remained in the province, and used only the weights and measures of "Old Amsterdam, to which we owe our name." Scotch merchants and peddlers were not forgotten in these business arrangements, for it was also ordained that "all Scotch merchants and small dealers, who come over from their own country with the intention of trading here," should "not be permitted to carry on any trade in the land" until they had resided there three years. They were also required to build a "decent, habitable tenement" one year after their arrival. Every Monday was to be a market-day, and, in imitation of *Fatherland*, an annual "keemis," or fair, for ten days, was established, commencing on Monday after St. Bartholomew's Day, at which all persons could sell goods from their tents. The trade on the North and the South River was reserved for citizens having the requisite qualifications. It was declared, however, that the East River should be "free and open to any one, no matter to what nation he may belong." All vessels under fifty tons were to anchor between the Capsey

“Hoeck” (which divided the East and North Rivers) and the “Hand,” or guide-board, near the present Battery. No freight was to be landed, nor any boats to leave the vessels, from sunset to sunrise. Those regulations were strictly enforced, and the high custom or duties exacted from the colonists amounted to almost thirty per cent., “besides waste.” “The avidity of the Director to confiscate,” says an old account, “was a vulture, destroying the property of New Netherland, diverting its trade, and making the people discontented.” This “bad report” spread among the English, north and south, and even reached the West India and Caribbean Islands. Boston traders declared that more than twenty-five vessels would every year reach Manhattan from those islands, “if the owners were not fearful of confiscation.” Not a ship now dared come from those places. Difficulties constantly arising between the authorities of the *Fatherland* and New Netherland, the “Presiding Chamber” plainly perceived that they must make concessions, or lose all control over their distant colony. Accordingly, the “Commonalty of Manhattan” was informed that the Amsterdam Directors had determined to abolish the export duty on tobacco, to reduce the price of the same, and to allow the colonists to purchase negroes from Africa—all this being designed to show their “good intentions.” They also informed Governor Stuyvesant of their assent to a “burgher government” in Manhattan, which should approach as nearly as possible to the custom of “the metropolis of Holland.” At the time that the colonists had obtained this concession (1652) of the long-
desired burgher government, New Amsterdam 1652.
numbered a population of seven hundred or eight hundred souls.

At last, a naval war, long brewing, broke out between England and the United Provinces, and, without warning,

Dutch ships were arrested in English ports, and the crews impressed. Martin Harpertsen Tromp commanded the Dutch fleet. His name has no prefix of "Van," as many writers insist. Bancroft and Brodhead are among the few who have not adopted the common error. The Dutch Admiral was no more "Van Tromp" than the English was "Van Blake," or our brave American "Van Farra-gut." Tromp, in a few days, met the British fleet, under Admiral Blake, in Dover Straits, and a bloody but indecisive fight followed. Brilliant naval engagements ensued, in which Tromp and De Ruyter, with Blake and Ayscue, immortalized themselves. But the first year of hostilities closing with a victory for the Dutch, Blake sought refuge for his vessels in the Thames River, when the Dutch commander placed a broom at his mast-head—an emblem or token that he had swept the British Channel free from British ships. These hostilities between Holland and England encouraged pirates and robbers to infest the shores of the East River, and perpetrate excesses on Long Island and the neighborhood of New Amsterdam. Several yachts were immediately commissioned to act against the pirates. A reward of one hundred thalers was offered for each of the outlaws, and a proclamation issued prohibiting all persons from harboring them, under the penalty of banishment and the confiscation of their goods. Forces had even been collected to act against New Netherland, but the joyful intelligence of peace sent them to dislodge the French from the coast of Maine; and thus, for ten years longer, the coveted Dutch-American province continued under the sway of Holland. The peace was published "in
1654. the ringing of bell" from the City Hall. and the 12th of August, 1654, appointed, piously by Stuyvesant, as a day of general thanksgiving.

During the same month, 1654, Le Moyne, a Jesuit

father and missionary to the Indians, immortalized his name by a discovery which afterward formed one of the largest sources of wealth in our State. Reaching the entrance of a small lake, filled with salmon-trout and other fish, he tasted the water of a spring, which his Indian guides were afraid to drink, saying that there was a demon in it which rendered it offensive. But the Jesuit had discovered "a fountain of salt water," from which he actually made salt as natural as that of the sea. Taking a sample, he descended the Oneida, passed over Ontario and the St. Lawrence, and safely reached Quebec with the intelligence of his wonderful discovery. To the State of New York it has been more valuable than a mine of silver or gold.

During the year 1654, the Swedish and the Casimir colonists on the Delaware took the Dutch fort on that river; and soon after, Stuyvesant avenged himself by capturing the *Golden Shark*, a Swedish ship, bound to South River, which, by mistake, had entered Sandy Hook and anchored behind Staten Island. The captain, having discovered his error, sent a boat to Manhattan for a pilot, when the Governor ordered the crew to the guard-house, and dispatched soldiers to seize the vessel. The *Shark's* cargo was removed to the Company's magazine, until a reciprocal restitution should be made. The Swedish agent sent a long protest to Governor Stuyvesant, complaining of his conduct.

In the year 1656, there were in New Amsterdam one hundred and twenty houses and one thousand souls. A proclamation, issued at this time, forbade the removal of any corps in the town or colony, until the Company's tithes had been paid. The authorities of Rensselaerswick refusing to publish this notice, the tapsters were sent down to New Amsterdam, pleading that they acted under the orders of their feudal officers. This

defense was overruled, and one person was fined two hundred pounds, and another, eight hundred guilders.

The cities of Holland, for a long time, had enjoyed certain municipal privileges called "great" and "small" burgher rights. In Amsterdam, all who paid five hundred guilders were enrolled "great burghers," and they monopolized all the offices, and were also exempt from attainder and confiscation of goods. The "small burghers" paid fifty guilders for the honors, and had the freedom of trade only. This burghership became hereditary in Holland, and could pass by marriage, and be acquired by females as well as by males. Foreigners, after a year's probation, could also become burghers; and the burghers were generally the merchants and tradesmen. The various trades and professions formed separate associations, or "*guilds*," and their members were bound to assist each other in distress or danger. In *Fatherland*, each guild generally inhabited a separate quarter of the town, was organized as a military company, and fought under its own standard, having its own "dekken," or dean.

In the year 1657, "in conformity to the laudable custom of the city of Amsterdam in Europe," this great burgher right was introduced into New Amsterdam.

1657. This was an absurd imitation of an invidious policy, and the mother city herself was soon obliged to abandon it, notwithstanding Governor Stuyvesant attempted to establish in New Amsterdam this most offensive of all distinctions—an aristocracy founded on a class, or mere wealth.

In Mr. Paulding's "*Affairs and Men of New Amsterdam in the Time of Governor Peter Stuyvesant*," there is a list of the recorded GREAT CITIZENSHIP, in the year 1657. As a rare matter of the olden time, it is here given entire:

"Joh. La Montagne, Junior; Jan Gillesen Van Burggh, Hendricksen Kip, De Heere General Stuyvesant, Domine

Megapolensis, Jacob Gerritsen Strycker, Jan Virge, The wife of Cornelis Van Tienhoven, Hendrick Van Dyck, Kip Hendrick, Junior; Captain Martin Krigier, Karl Van Burggh, Jacob Van Couwenhoven, Laurisen Cornelisen, Van Wyck, Johannes Pietersen, Van Burggh, Cornelis Steenwyck, Wilb. Bogardus, Daniel Litschoe, Pieter Van Couwenhoven." These twenty names composed the aristocracy of New York two hundred and thirteen years ago, when umbrellas and carriages were unknown.

We have also before us the names of the "small" citizenship, which number two hundred and sixteen: In a few short years it was found that this division of the citizens into two classes produced great inconvenience, in consequence of the very small number of great burghers who were eligible to office. It became necessary for the Government to change this unpopular order. The heavy fee to obtain it frightened most foreigners, so that it was purchased but once during a period of sixteen years. In the year 1668, the difference between "great" and "small" burghers was abolished, when every burgher became legally entitled to all burgher privileges.

During the year 1659, it was discovered that the Dutch colony had as yet produced no returns, and was already seven thousand guilders in arrears. It was therefore determined that, to prevent further loss, such colonists only as had left Holland before December, 1658, should be supplied with provisions. Goods were to be sold only for cash, and exemptions from tithes and taxes were to cease several years before the original stipulated period, and merchandise thereafter was to be consigned to the city of Amsterdam exclusively. The colonists remonstrated against this new restriction of trade, which had the appearance of gross slavery, and of fettering the free prospects of a worthy people. This remonstrance was well timed, and the City Council consented that all the traders

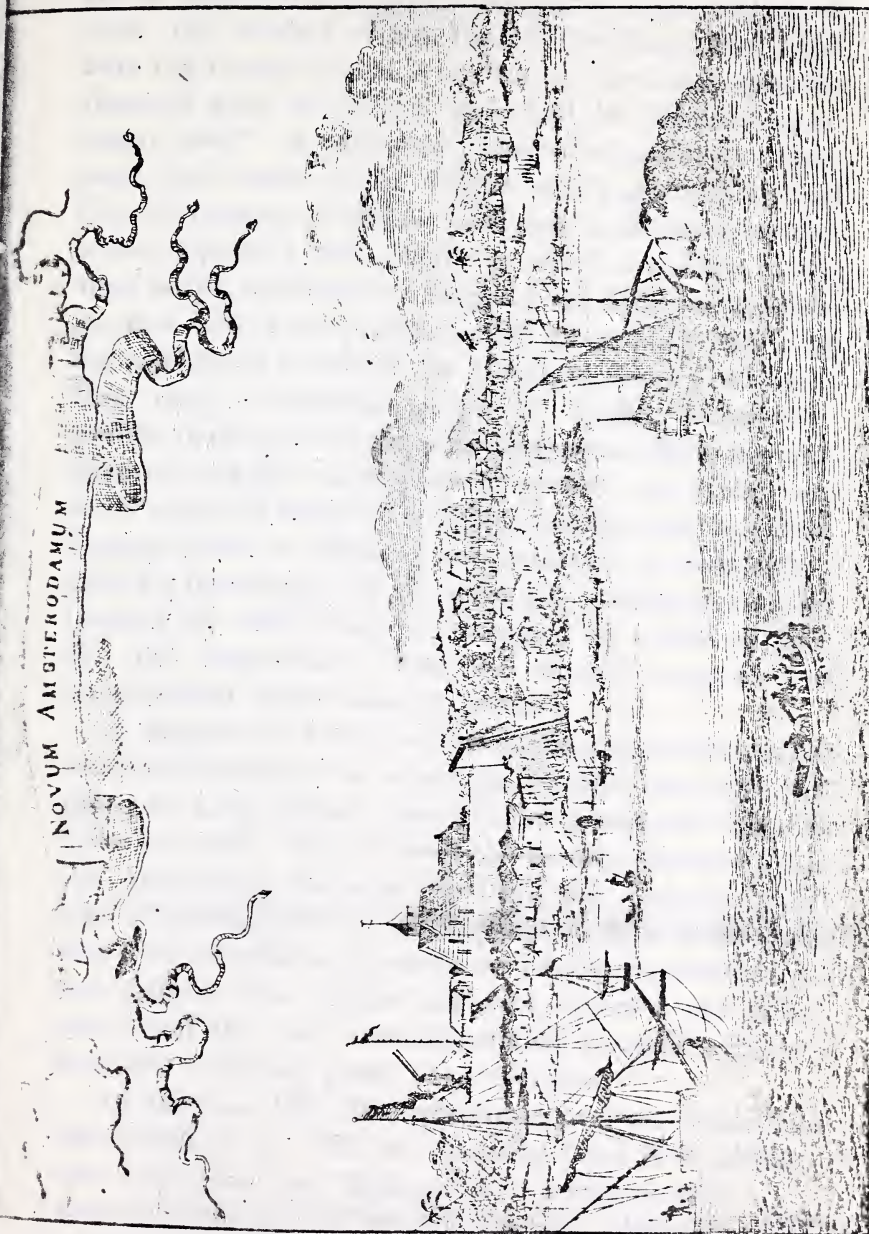
on the South River might export all goods, except peltry, to any place they wished.

In the year 1660, a second survey and map of New Amsterdam was made by Jacques Cortelyou, and the city was found to contain three hundred and fifty
1660. houses. It was sent to the Amsterdam Chamber, in case it should be thought "good to make it more public by having it engraved." This early map has probably been lost.

The restoration of Charles the Second, in 1661, did not produce in England more friendly feelings towards
1661. the Dutch; and the two nations now became commercial rivals. The Act of Navigation had already closed the ports of New England, Virginia, and Maryland against Holland and its colony of New Netherland; and such at that time was the narrow spirit of British statesmen, that many Independents and Dissenters desired to seek new homes, where they would be alike free from monarchy, prelacy, and British rule.

Nor were these considerations overlooked in Holland. The West India Company now determined to invite emigration to New Netherland by larger inducements; accordingly, a new charter was drawn up, which granted to "all such people as shall be disposed to take up their abode in those parts," fifteen leagues of land along the sea-coast, "and as far in depth in the continent as any plantation hath, or may be, settled in New Netherland." Emigrants were also to have "high, middle, and low jurisdiction," "freedom from head-money" for twenty years, property in mines, freedom for ten years from taxes, the right to use their own ships, and freedom in the fishing trade. "Therefore," added the Company, "if any of the English, good Christians, who may be assured of the advantage to mankind of plantations in these latitudes to others more southerly, and shall ration-

NOVUM AMSTERDAMIUM



SCULPT. PER G. F. EGGER

VIEW OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM (NOW NEW YORK)

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ally be disposed to transport themselves to the said place, under the conduct of the United Provinces, they shall have full liberty to live in the fear of the Lord, upon the aforesaid good conditions, and shall be likewise courteously used." A proper act, under the seal of the Company, was issued at the Hague, which granted to "all Christian people of tender conscience in England or elsewhere oppressed, full liberty to erect a colony in the West Indies, between New England and Virginia, in America, now within the jurisdiction of Peter Stuyvesant, the States-General Governor for the West India Company." How many "Christian people of tender conscience" availed themselves of these advantageous offers, does not appear; but the metropolis prospered. A better currency was now found to be indispensable, and the burgo-masters wrote to Holland for authority to establish a mint for the coinage of silver, and to constitute *wampum* (needed for trade with the savages) an article of sale. But the Amsterdam Directors refused to grant this improvement of the colonial currency.

A number of breweries, brick-kilns, and other manufactories, carried on a successful business; and the potteries on Long Island some persons esteemed equal to those of Delft. Dirck De Wolf having obtained from the Amsterdam Chamber, in 1661, the exclusive privilege of making salt for seven years in New Netherland, began its manufacture upon Coney Island; but the Gravesend settlers, who claimed the spot, arrested the enterprise; and this, too, notwithstanding Governor Stuyvesant sent a military guard to protect him.

In the year 1664, the population of New Netherland had increased to "full ten thousand," and New Amsterdam contained one thousand five hundred, and wore an appearance of great prosperity. English jealousy evidently increased with the augmenting com-

merce of the Dutch. James, Duke of York, was the King's brother, and also Governor of the African Company, and he denounced the Dutch West India Company, which had endeavored to secure the territory on the Gold Coast from English speculators and intruders. England now resolved to march a step further, and, at one blow, to rob Holland of her American province. The King granted a sealed patent to the Duke of York for a large territory in America, including Long Island, and all lands and rivers from the west side of the Connecticut to the east side of Delaware Bay. This sweeping grant embraced the whole of New Netherland.

The Duke of York, that he might lose no time in securing his patent, dispatched Captain Scott, with one hundred and fifty followers, to visit the Island of Manhattan, the value of which was now estimated at three thousand pounds. On the 11th of January, 1664, the valorous Scott made his appearance at "Breukelen" Ferry Landing, and, with a great flourish of trumpets, demanded submission to the English flag. Governor Stuyvesant, despatching his Secretary, politely asked Captain Scott, "Will you come across the river?" and the reply was, "No; let Stuyvesant come over with one hundred soldiers; I will wait for him here!" "What for?" demanded the Secretary. "I would run him through the body!" was the Captain's courteous answer. "That would not be a friendly act," replied the Governor's Deputy. Thus they parted; Scott retiring to Midwout (Flatbush) with his forces, with drums beating and colors flying, while the people "looked on with wonder, not knowing what it meant." Scott told them that they must abandon their allegiance to the Dutch, and promised to confer with Governor Stuyvesant. But when he reached the river, on his way to New Amsterdam for this purpose, he declined crossing it. Still he felt very brave, *threatening*

to go over, proclaim the English King at the Manhattans, and "rip the guts, and cut the feet from under any man who says, 'This is not the King's land.'" This was, certainly, very bloodthirsty; but the good people of Manhattan all escaped with whole feet and bowels. The valiant Captain then marched to New Utrecht, ordered the only gun of which the block-house boasted to be fired in the King's honor, and then continued his triumphant march to Amersfort, for another bloodless victory.

Governor Stuyvesant now ordered a new commission to confer with Captain Scott, at Jamaica, and Cornelis Steenwyck*—one of the fathers of New Amsterdam, residing on his farm at Harlem—was one of the commission. It was here agreed that the English Captain should desist from disturbing the Dutch towns. The latter, however, insisted that the basis of future negotiations should recognize Long Island as belonging to Great Britain. He also hinted that the Duke of York intended to reduce, in time, the whole province of New Netherland—a declaration which was to prove true sooner than the Dutch Governor anticipated.

In September of the same year (1664), Colonel Nicolls anchored before New Amsterdam with a fleet and soldiers. His imperious message to Governor Stuyvesant was: "I shall come with ships and soldiers, raise the white flag of peace at the fort, and then something may be considered. The Dutch colony was entirely unprepared for such a warlike visit, and capitulated at eight o'clock on the morning of September 8th, 1664. Stuyvesant, at the head of the garrison, marched out of the fort with the honors of war, pursuant to the terms of the surrender. His soldiers were immediately led down the "*Bever's*

* There is a portrait of Mr. Steenwyck in the collection of the N. Y. Historical Society.

Paatje," or Beaver Lane, to the shore of the North River, where they embarked for Holland. An English "corporal's guard" immediately entered and took possession of the fort, over which the English flag was at once hoisted. Its name, Fort Amsterdam, was then changed to "Fort James," and New Amsterdam was henceforth known as "NEW YORK." This was a violent and treacherous seizure of territory at a time of profound peace—a breach of private justice and public faith; and by it, a great State had imposed on it a name which is unknown in history, save as it is connected with bigotry and tyranny, and which has ever been an enemy of political and religious liberty.*

Before following further the course of events, a brief retrospect of the commercial prosperity of New Netherland seems desirable. At the period when Governor Stuyvesant's administration was so suddenly terminated by the arrival of the Duke of York's forces, the population of New Netherland was established at "full ten thousand." When New Amsterdam was first surveyed, in 1656, it contained one hundred and twenty houses and one thousand souls, which increased to fifteen hundred in 1664. Not quite two hundred and fifty of these were male

* As the surrender of Fort Amsterdam involved the loss of the entire Dutch possessions in New Netherland, the conduct of Governor Stuyvesant, in not maintaining its defense, was severely criticised by his superiors in Holland. In his justification, he explained that the fort was encompassed only by a slight wall, two to three feet in thickness, backed by coarse gravel, not above eight, nine, and ten feet high, in some places; in others, higher, according to the rise and fall of the ground. It was for the most part crowded all around with buildings, and better adapted for a citadel than for defense against an open enemy. The houses were, in many places, higher than the walls and bastions, and rendered those wholly exposed. Most of the houses had cellars not eight rods distant from the wall of the fort; in some places not two or three feet distant; and at one point scarce a rod from the wall,—so that whoever should be master of the city, could readily approach with scaling-ladders from the adjacent houses, and mount the walls, which had neither a wet nor a dry ditch.—*Valentine's Manual.*

adults; and the rest women and children below eighteen years of age. The same city now numbers about a million of people! New York, on an average, has about doubled its population every twenty-three years. Be it remembered that trade and commerce became the great stimulus of population, and their regulation of the utmost importance. The damages incurred by the West India Company during 1645-'6, in Brazil, and estimated at one hundred tons of gold, rendered some measures necessary to retrieve its condition. Trade with that country was therefore opened in the year 1648 to the New Netherlanders, who were permitted to send thither their produce, and return with African slaves, whose subsequent exportation from the Dutch Province was forbidden. Four years afterward, the province obtained the privilege of trading to Africa for slaves and other articles. In the same year, the monopoly of the carrying trade between Holland and this country (before in the hands of the Amsterdam Chamber) was abolished; "for the first time," private vessels were now entered at Amsterdam; and, in 1659, the privilege of exporting produce to France, Spain, Italy, and the Caribbean Islands, was obtained. Thus, the markets of the world, except those of the East, were opened to New Netherland ships. From this regulation, however, furs alone were an exception, as these were to be sent exclusively to Amsterdam.

The duties were fixed by the tariff of 1648, at ten per cent. on imported, and fifteen upon exported goods; but some difference existed in favor of English colonial buttons, causing them first to be sent to New England, and thence imported into New Netherland at a low rate. To obviate this, in 1651, the duties on such goods were raised to sixteen per cent., tobacco excepted, its eight per cent. tax being taken off. In the year 1655, the duties on imports again were reduced to ten per cent., and, in 1659,

owing to the demand for lead to be used in window-frames, this article was placed on the free-list. As we have noticed, the industry of the Dutch colonists was early manifested in ship-building. At the close of Stuyvesant's administration, a number of distilleries, breweries, and potasheries, were in operation, with several manufactories of tiles, bricks, and earthenware. An attempt was also made, in 1657, to introduce the silk culture; two years after, mulberry-trees were exported to Curacao; and, as before stated, the making of salt was attempted; but the inhabitants of Gravesend, claiming Coney Island under their patent, destroyed the houses and improvements, burnt the fences, and threatened to throw the workmen into the flames.

Although *wampum*, or "*zeawan*," had become almost the exclusive currency of New Netherlands (1664), still, beaver remained the standard of value. During the years 1651-'2, Director Stuyvesant tried to introduce a specie currency, and applied to Holland for twenty-five thousand guilders in Dutch shillings and four-penny pieces, but the Directors there disapproved of his project. The people were thus entirely dependent on *wampum*, as we are now upon "greenbacks," and the value of wages, property, and every commodity, was, in consequence, seriously disturbed. So it is in this day, and ever will be, with an irredeemable currency, whether of clam-shells, thin paper, or any thing else, not equal to specie. At first, *wampum* passed at the rate of four black beads for one stiver; next, it was lowered to six; again, in 1657, to eight; and then it was ordered to be considered a tender for gold and silver. But Stuyvesant wisely objected, as it would bring the value of property to naught. In the year 1650, the white *wampum* was next reduced from twelve to sixteen, and the black from six to eight for a stiver. What was the result? The holder was obliged to give more *wampum*

for any article he purchased of the trader, who, in return, allowed the natives a large quantity of it for their beavers and skins; and, to use the plain record of the day, "little or no benefit accrued." Nominally, prices advanced, when beavers which had been sold for twelve or fourteen guilders rose to twenty-two and twenty-four, bread from fourteen to twenty-two stivers (eight-pound loaves) beef nine to ten stivers per pound, pork fifteen to twenty stivers, shoes from three and a half guilders to twelve a pair, and wrought-iron from eighteen to twenty stivers the pound. Beavers and specie remained all the while of equal value; but the difference between these and *wampum* was fifty per cent. The effect on wages was almost ruinous. An old record says: "The poor farmer, laborer, and public officer, being paid in *zeawan*, are almost reduced to the necessity of living on alms."

Those in the employ of the Dutch Company asked that their salaries might be paid in beavers, but this was refused; as well might public officers in our day desire to receive gold and silver for their services. This depreciation of the currency, and the consequent disturbance of prices, caused much popular clamor, and various expedients were adopted to amend the unfortunate state of things. The Directors of New Netherland would have the colonists consider *wampum* as "bullion," but would only receive beavers in payment of duties and taxes. We adopt something of the same theory in our Custom-House payments. Governor Stuyvesant raised the value of specie in the country twenty to twenty-five per cent, "to prevent its exportation." Finally, however, the price of beaver in 1663 fell from eight guilders (specie) to four and a half, white *wampum* from sixteen to eight, and black from eight to four for a stiver. What a fall! This was the state of the public finances when the English came in possession of New Netherland. Some persons

are met with at the present time who fear a similar financial crash sooner or later in our enlightened land with its hundreds and millions in paper-money operations and promises.

The public revenue in New Netherland embraced two descriptions, provincial and municipal: the former consisting of the export duty on furs, the impost on European goods, with the tenths of agricultural produce, butter, cheese, etc.; the latter of an excise duty on liquors and slaughtered cattle. In the year 1655, the duty on exported furs is stated at twenty-two thousand guilders. The expenses of the Government became very large, especially from the Indian wars, which also cut off the supplies of furs; so that by the close of Stuyvesant's administration, there was a deficit of fifty thousand florins, or twenty thousand dollars. The municipal revenue arising from the liquor excise was of two kinds, the tapsters and the burghers—the first paying a duty of four florins a ton on home-brewed, and six on foreign beer; eight florins a hogshead on French; and four on Spanish wine, brandy, or other spirits. These rates were doubled in 1662. The income of New Amsterdam from these sources was estimated at twenty-five thousand guilders. The Company in Holland had now expended twelve tons of gold in the settlement of New Netherland, and now (1664), when some return was expected for this large outlay, foreigners seized and possessed themselves of all the benefits resulting from such expenditures.

We again resume the thread of our narrative. The war which broke out in 1672 between the English and the Dutch, and which was chiefly carried on by the navies of the two powers, occasioned apprehensions for the safety of the province of New York; and Governor Lovelace, the successor of Nicolls, the first English Governor, made preparations for a demonstra-

tion of that character on the part of the Dutch. Nor were his fears unfounded; although, some months elapsing without any appearance of the enemy, he allowed himself to fall into a fatal sense of security, and accordingly disbanded the levies, while he himself departed on a visit to the Eastern colonies, leaving the Fort in charge of Captain John Manning. The Dutch, however, were not asleep; nor had they relinquished their design. Determined to regain New Amsterdam at all hazards, they fitted out a fleet of five ships, commanded by Admirals Benckes and Evertsen, with Captains Colve, Boes, and Van Zye. On the 29th of July, 1673, they appeared off Sandy Hook; and quietly sailing up the bay, and anchoring before Staten Island, soon appeared opposite the Battery. The fleet then opened a heavy cannonade upon the city, at the same time that Captain Colve, landing with six hundred men, drew up in order of battle on the Commons, ready to march into the city. At a given signal the men marched down Broadway, whereupon Captain Manning surrendered the fort, on condition that its garrison should march out with all the honors of war. This condition having been granted, the Dutch troops again possessed the fort and city. New York received the name of New Orange, and the fort itself the name of Fort William Hendrick. Governor Lovelace, who, meanwhile had hastened back from his pleasure tour, was allowed to return with the Dutch Admiral. He received from the English Government a severe reprimand for cowardice and treachery, and his estates were confiscated to the Duke of York.

Captain Colve, now in command of the Province of New Netherland, received a commission from Benckes and Evertsen to govern the new territory. His rule, though brief, was energetic. He at once took measures to improve the defenses of the fort; and, in October, 1673, we

find it stated in one of his orders, that the fortifications had then, at great expense and labor to the citizens and inhabitants, been brought "to perfection." Anthony De Milt was appointed Schout, with three burgomasters and five schepens. The entire city assumed the appearance of a military post, the Commons (the present Park) becoming the parade-ground. A *wall* or palisade was placed around it, running from Trinity Church along *Wall Street*—hence its name—and block-houses protected the settlement on every side. Every day the Schout reviewed the military, before the "Stadt Huys," at the head of Coenties Slip. At six in the evening he received the city keys, and with a guard of six men locked the public gates, and stationed the sentinels. He unlocked the gates at sunrise. The city at this period numbered three hundred and twenty houses.

But the second administration of the Dutch was destined to be of short duration. On the 9th of February, 1674, the treaty of peace between England and the States-General was signed at Westminster; and the Dutch, having discovered and possessed the beautiful country of New Netherland for almost sixty years, were now, once and forever, dispossessed of it. On that day the old fort became "Fort James," having surrendered to Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed Governor by the Duke of York.

The first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This led to a great influx of people to the state, and the population grew rapidly. The second was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. This also led to a great influx of people to the state, and the population grew rapidly. The third was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1858. This also led to a great influx of people to the state, and the population grew rapidly. The fourth was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. This also led to a great influx of people to the state, and the population grew rapidly. The fifth was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862. This also led to a great influx of people to the state, and the population grew rapidly. The sixth was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1863. This also led to a great influx of people to the state, and the population grew rapidly. The seventh was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1864. This also led to a great influx of people to the state, and the population grew rapidly. The eighth was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1865. This also led to a great influx of people to the state, and the population grew rapidly. The ninth was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1866. This also led to a great influx of people to the state, and the population grew rapidly. The tenth was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1867. This also led to a great influx of people to the state, and the population grew rapidly.

CHAPTER III.

BEFORE closing this section, and bidding farewell entirely to New York under the Dutch rule, it seems fitting to glance somewhat minutely at the social manners and customs of our early Dutch ancestors.

The Dutch of New Amsterdam were distinguished for their good nature, love of home, and cordial hospitality. Fast young men, late hours, and fashionable dissipation were unknown. There was, nevertheless, plenty of opportunity for healthful recreation. Holidays were abundant, each family having some of its own, such as birth-days, christenings, and marriage anniversaries. Each season, too, introduced its own peculiar and social festivals—the “Quilting,” “Apple-Raising,” and “Husking Bees.” The work on such occasions was soon finished, after which the guests sat down to a supper, well supplied with chocolate and waffles—the evening terminating with a merry dance. Dancing was a favorite amusement. The slaves danced to the music of their rude instruments, in the markets; while the maidens and youths practiced the same amusement at their social parties, and around the annual May-Pole on the Bowling Green.

Besides such holidays, five public or national festivals were observed. These were—*Kerstrydt*, or Christmas; *Nieuw Jar*, or New Year; *Paas*, or Passover; *Pinxter*, Whitsuntide; and *Santa Claus*, St. Nicholas, or Christ-Kin-

kle Day. The morn of the Nativity was hailed with universal salutations of a "Merry Christmas"—a good old Knickerbocker custom which has descended unimpaired to us. Next, in the day's programme, came "Turkey Shooting"—the young men repairing either to the "Beekman Swamp," or on the Common (Park), for this amusement. Each man paid a few stivers* for a "chance," when the best shot obtained the prize. The day was also commemorated, as it is at the present time, by family dinners, and closed with domestic gayety and cheerfulness.

New-Year's Day was devoted to the universal interchange of visits. Every door in New Amsterdam was thrown wide open, and a warm welcome extended to the stranger as well as the friend. It was considered a breach of established etiquette to omit any acquaintance in these annual calls, by which old friendships were renewed, family differences settled, and broken or neglected intimacies restored. This is another of the excellent customs of the olden times that still continues among New Yorkers; and its origin, like many others, is thus traced exclusively to the earliest Hollanders.

Paas, or Easter, was a famous festival among the Dutch, but is now almost forgotten, except by the children, who still take considerable interest in coloring eggs in honor of the day. The eggs were found *then* on every table. This old festival, however, is rapidly passing away, and, like *Pinxter*, will soon be forgotten.

Santa Claus, however, was *the* day of all others with the little Dutch folk, for it was sacred to St. Nicholas—the tutelary divinity of New Amsterdam—who had presided at the figure-head of the first emigrant ship that reached her shores. The first church erected within her fort was

* A stiver was equal to nearly two cents in United States money.

also named after St. Nicholas. He was, to the imagination of the little people, a jolly, rosy-cheeked, little old man, with a slouched hat, large Flemish nose, and a very long pipe. His sleigh, loaded with all sorts of Christmas gifts, was drawn by swift reindeer; and, as he drove rapidly over the roofs of the houses, he would pause at the chimneys to leave presents in the stockings of the good children; if *bad*, they might expect nothing but a switch or leather-strap. In this way the young Knickerbockers became models of good behavior and propriety. They used to sing a suitable hymn on the occasion, one verse of which is here given, for the benefit of those readers who may wish to know how it sounded in Dutch:

“Sint Nicholaas, myn goden vriend,
Ik heb u altyd wel gediend;
Als gy my nu wot wilt geven,
Zal ik dienen als myn leven.”

TRANSLATION.

“Saint Nicholas, my dear, good friend,
To serve you ever was my end;
If you me now something will give,
Serve you, I will, as long as I live.”

“Dinner parties” in these primitive days were unknown; but this seeming lack of social intercourse was more than made up by the well-known and numerous tea parties. To “take tea out” was a Dutch institution, and one of great importance. The matrons arrayed in their best petticoats and linsey jackets, “home spun” by their own wheels, would proceed on the intended afternoon visit. They were capacious pockets, with scissors, pin-cushion, and keys hanging from their girdle, outside of their dress; and, reaching the neighbor’s house, the visitors industriously used knitting-needles and tongues at the same time. The village gossip was talked over, neighbors’ affairs settled, and the stockings finished by tea-time, when the important meal appeared on the table

precisely at six o'clock. This was always the occasion for the display of the family plate, with the Lilliputian cups, of rare old family china, out of which the guests sipped the fragrant herb. A large lump of loaf-sugar invariably accompanied each cup, on a little plate, and the delightful beverage was sweetened by an occasional nibble, amid the more solid articles of waffles and Dutch doughnuts. The pleasant visit finished, the visitors, donning cloaks and hoods—as bonnets were unknown—proceeded homeward in time for milking and other necessary household duties. The kitchen fire-places were of immense size, large enough to roast a sheep or whole hog; and the hooks and trammels sustained large iron pots and kettles. In the spacious chimney-corners the children and negroes gathered—telling stories and cracking nuts by the light of the blazing pine-knots, while the industrious *wrovs* turned the merry spinning-wheel, and their lords, the worthy burghers—mayhap just returned from an Indian scrimmage—quietly smoked their long pipes, as they sat watching the wreaths curling above their heads. At length, the clock, with its brazen tongue, having proclaimed the hour of nine, family prayers were said, and all retired, to rise with the dawn.

A model housekeeper rose at cock-crowing, breakfasted with the dawn, and proceeded to the duties of the day; and when the sun reached the meridian or “noon mark,” dinner, which was strictly a family meal, was on the table. This domestic time-piece answered every purpose, so regular were the hours and lives of the people. At one time there were not more than half a dozen clocks in New Amsterdam, with about the same number of watches. But they were strikingly peculiar in one respect: they were scarcely ever known to go, and hence were of very little practical utility. No watch-maker had yet found it profitable to visit the settlement; and

this was a period two centuries before the invention of Yankee clocks. For a long while, time was marked by hour-glasses and sun-dials.

We have already seen the interior of the kitchen, and will now go up stairs into the parlor of the early Dutch dwellings. Stoves were never dreamed of; but instead of them was the cheerful fire-place, sometimes in the corner, but more generally reaching nearly across the back of the room, with its huge gum back-log and glowing fire of hickory. The shovel and tongs occupied each corner of the fire-place, keeping guard, as it were, over the family brass-mounted andirons which supported the blazing wood. Marble mantles had not yet been invented; but chimney-jambs, inlaid with party colors, imported Holland tiles, representing all kinds of Scriptural stories, were quite ornamental as well as instructive. Many a youngster has received categorical instruction from these silent venerable teachers.

In one corner of the room always stood the huge oaken iron-bound chest, brimful of household linen, spun by the ladies of the family, who delighted to display these domestic riches to their visitors. Later, this plain wardrobe gave place to the "*chest of drawers*," one drawer placed upon the other, until the pile reached the ceiling, with its shining brass rings and key-holes. The book-case, too, with its complicated writing-desk, mysterious secret-drawers and pigeon-holes, came into use about the same period, though both were unknown to the early Knickerbockers. Sideboards were not introduced into New Amsterdam until after the American Revolution, and were entirely of English origin. The round tea-table also occupied a place in the corner of the parlor, while the large square dining-table stood in the kitchen for daily use. In another corner stood the well-known Holland cupboard, with glass doors, conspicuously displaying

the family plate and porcelain. Little looking-glasses in narrow black frames, were in common use; two or three only of the wealthiest burghers possessing larger mirrors, elaborately ornamented with gilding and flowers. About 1730, the *sconce* came in fashion—a hanging or projecting candlestick, with a mirror to reflect the rays. This was a very showy article, giving a fine light to the rooms.* After this period pier and mantel glasses came into fashion. Pictures, such as they were, abounded; but they were, for the most part, poor engravings of Dutch cities and naval engagements. Chintz calico of inferior quality formed the only window-curtains, without any cornices. There were no carpets among the early Dutch, nor any in general use among the New Yorkers until up to the period of the Revolution. The famous Captain Kidd, it is said, owned the first modern carpet in his best room, and the pirate's house was the best furnished in the city. It was made of Turkey work, at a cost of twenty-five dollars, and resembled a large rug. The custom of sanding the floor of the principal room, or parlor, was universal, and much taste was displayed in the many fanciful devices and figures made in the sand with the brooms of the smart Dutch matrons and daughters. Our Dutch ancestors knew nothing of lounges or sofas, or even of that comfortable American invention, the rocking-chair. Their best chairs were straight and high-backed, covered with Russia leather, and elaborately ornamented with double and triple rows of brass nails. In addition to these, the parlor was decorated with one or two chairs having embroidered seats and backs, the

* Two of these quaint fixtures, a hundred and fifty years old, hung, until a year or two since, in the parlor of the Union Hall, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y. Old visitors will readily recall them. They now adorn the parlors of Mrs. Washington Putnam, of Saratoga Springs, the widow of the late Washington Putnam, for many years the genial host and owner of the "Union."

handiwork of the daughters. Some of the oldest families also displayed in their best rooms two chairs with cushions of tapestry, or velvet, trimmed with lace. About the year 1700, cane seats became fashionable, and thirty years after came the leather chairs, worth from five to ten dollars each. These led the fashion about thirty years more, when mahogany and black walnut chairs, with their crimson damask cushions, appeared.

But the most ornamental piece of furniture in the parlor was the bed, with its heavy curtains and valance of camlet. No mattresses then, but a substantial bed of live geese feathers, with a very light one of down for the covering. These beds were the boast and pride of the most respectable Dutch matrons, and, with their well-filled chests of home-made linen, supplied their claims to skill in housekeeping. A check covering cased the bed and pillows; the sheets were made of homespun linen; and over the whole was thrown a bed-quilt of patchwork, wrought into every conceivable shape and pattern.

The "*betste*" (bedstead) was at this period a part of the house. It was constructed something like a cupboard, with closing doors, so that by day, when unoccupied, the apartment could be used for a sitting-room. In more humble houses, the "*sloap bank*," or "bunk," was the sleeping-place. In Dutch taverns, the good *vrouw* or her maid opened the doors of the "*betste*" for the traveler, and, like a kind mother, bade him "*mel te rusten*"—"good-night," and always, as an old friend, "*hoo-y rees*"—"good-by." To this day, in Holland, travelers meet similar receptions at the taverns; and all the guests, assembling in one room, eat, drink, and smoke.

Our Dutch forefathers were fond of pure, good milk—a luxury unknown to their unfortunate descendants. It was the common practice for all who could afford stable room, to keep their own cows, and thus furnish their fami-

lies with milk and butter. Rip Van Dam, in 1748, kept two cows; and Abraham De Puyster, one of the wealthiest merchants, owned the same number. Good pasturage, too, surrounded the town, no further off than the present Park. A man with a bell came along early in the morning for the cows, driving them through Wall to the city-gate, at the corner of that street and Water; thence to the fields about the Collect, where the Tombs now stands; in the evening he brought them back to their owners.

In the earlier period of New Amsterdam, the grain was made into flour by pestle and mortar, every family adopting this method. Coin then as now was exceedingly scarce; nor was there even any paper currency. Hence, grain became as much the circulating medium as "green-backs" are at the present day with us. From this circumstance, the pestle and mortar constituted the real mints of the people; the pounded grain passing current for goods and labor, like bank-notes.

The horses of those days were bred wild in the woods and pastures which covered the upper part of Manhattan Island. Thousands of them ran at large, their owners, at certain seasons, branding them with their names, when they were turned loose again, until winter rendered a shelter for them necessary. Such was their great increase, that it is said the Island was overrun by the animals, now become as wild and dangerous as the buffaloes of the prairies; the breed was, consequently, inferior, the price of a horse ranging from ten dollars to forty dollars, according to the strength, and not the speed, of the animal. This great plenty of horse-flesh, however, afforded ample opportunity for the fair Dutch dames to indulge their favorite pastime—riding on horseback. The ladies, at this period, however, did not ride on horseback *alone*, as is now the fashion, but were mounted upon a pillion, or padded cushion, placed behind the gentleman's saddle (or a servant's), upon

whose support they depended. This was the common custom, as the roads were unbroken, being, in fact, little better than bridle-paths. Early in the eighteenth century side-saddles came into partial use. The gentlemen's housings were made of bright-colored cloths or velvet, often trimmed with silver lace; holsters were common.

The literature of New Amsterdam was entirely different from that of modern times. In the place of the novels, magazines, and light reading which now fill the center-tables, there was to be found little else than Bibles, Testaments, and hymn-books. The matrons' church books were generally costly bound, with silver clasps and edgings, and sometimes of gold. These were suspended to the girdle by silver and gold chains, and distinguished the style of the families using them, on the Sabbath days.

The Sundays in New Amsterdam were, moreover, better observed by its inhabitants than at the present day. All classes, arrayed in their best, then attended the public services of religion; and the people, almost exclusively Calvinists, attended the Dutch Reformed Church. The "*Koeck*," or bell-ringer and sexton, was an important personage on the Sabbath. He not only summoned the congregation by the sound of the church-going bell, but formed a procession of himself and his assistants to carry the cushions of the burgomasters and schepens from the City Hall to the pews appropriated to these officials. At the same time, the Schout went his rounds, to see that quiet was kept in the streets during Divine worship, and also to stop the games of the negro slaves and Indians—to whom the Sabbath was allowed as a day of recreation, except during church hours.

Small pieces of *wampum* were obtained by the deacons, and sold at great value to the heads of the Dutch families. These, having been distributed among the different members of families, were then taken to church, and deposited

in the collection-bags, which were attached to long poles. Such was the custom a long while; nor, in some of the interior Dutch settlements, has it been entirely abandoned at the present day. Formerly, a small bell was attached to the bottom of the bags, to remind the drowsy of the collection. The deacons, being thus prepared to receive the benefactions of the congregation, presented themselves in front of the pulpit, when, the Dominie having addressed a few appropriate words to them, they forthwith proceeded to collect the contributions. At that day, also, the "*Koorleser*," or Clerk, occupied a little pew in front of the pulpit, holding in his hand a rod, on the end of which all notices were placed, and thus passed up to the Dominie. The moment the minister reached the pulpit stairs, he offered a private prayer, holding his hat before his face, until, having sought the aid of the Lord and Master, he ascended the sacred desk.

It was also at this time the custom to publish from the pulpit the *bans* three times before a marriage could be solemnized.

The Dutch Church was, at this period, within the fort, at the Battery; and the present Bowling Green, an open field, exhibited many country wagons, arranged in regular order, while their horses were allowed to graze on the green slopes that led down to the Hudson River. And here, in the old Church of *St. Nicholas*, for half a century, from 1642 to 1693, the early Dutch worshipped God in His Holy Temple.

Every house in New Amsterdam was surrounded by a garden, sufficiently large to accommodate a horse, a cow, two pigs, fowls, a patch of cabbages, and a tulip-bed. Indeed, the love of flowers seems to have been inherent in the Dutch dames. While the head of a family carefully watched the growth of some ancient household tree, planted, in accordance with a universal custom in New

Amsterdam, directly before the door-way, the matron might have been seen with her large calash over her shoulders, and her little painted basket of seeds in her hand, going to the labors of the garden. Nor is this figurative. It was the universal custom for a Dutch lady in independent circumstances, gentle of form and manner, to sow, plant, and cultivate. These fair gardeners were also good florists. Where have there ever been found choicer



THE BOWLING GREEN IN 1861.

hyacinths and tulips than among the Hollanders? Indeed, all New Yorkers may well feel proud of their great-great-grandmothers from Holland. They were fair and unblemished religious dames, with great grasp of mind, and of exemplary industry. The important task of religious instruction chiefly devolved upon them; and the essentials, especially the ceremonials of piety, were

instilled upon the minds of their children. Hence mothers among the early Dutch were always regarded with peculiar reverence.

The Dutch ladies wore no bonnets, as is still the fashion with some of the German emigrants who now arrive at Castle Garden. At New Amsterdam the fashionable dress was a colored petticoat, rather short (for ease in walking), waist jacket, colored hose of homespun woolen, and high-heeled shoes, suitable to a city destitute of pavements or sidewalks of any kind. The Dutch burghers wore long-waisted coats, with skirts reaching almost to their ankles, and adorned with large silver buttons. The wardrobe of a prominent burgomaster at the transfer of New Amsterdam to the British, was as follows: A cloth coat, with silver buttons, worth fifteen dollars; a stuff coat, ten dollars; cloth breeches, ten shillings; a cloth coat, with gimp buttons, seven dollars and fifty cents; a black cloth coat, seven dollars; a black velvet coat, fifteen dollars; a silk coat, breeches, and doublet, six dollars; a silver cloth breeches and doublet, five dollars; a velvet waistcoat, with silver lace, five dollars; a buff coat and silk sleeves, five dollars; three grass-green cloaks, six dollars each; besides several old suits. To these also must be added linen, hose, shoes with silver buckles, a cane with an ivory head, and a hat. It may be doubted if our present Mayors, with all their cloths and cassimeres, possess even one tithe of such an assortment of coats, pants, and vests, as this official Dutchman, their predecessor, in "ye olden time."*

In the good old Dutch times respectable tradesmen

* A little later, in 1690, we find among a fashionable gentleman's apparel, etc., green silk breeches, fluted with silver and gold; silver gauze-breeches, scarlet and blue silk stockings, laced shirt, a blue cloth stuff and frieze coat, a gun and a pair of pistols, a silver-hilted sword, a silver spoon and fork, a laced hat, a campaign, shut-bob, old-bob wigs, and periwigs.

worked hard; none were drones or mere lookers-on. There existed but little competition among tradesmen, as with us. No tempting display of goods in show-windows attracted the attention and excited the desire of passers-by to go beyond their means. Content to sell their goods at a fair profit, they secured both good customers and a reputation for probity and fair dealing. It was the English who first introduced display, fashion, and extravagance. It was they who first introduced the custom of keeping the shops open at night—a needless and expensive fashion, and greatly injurious to the health and morals of the clerks. In these early days, however, the diligent closed their stores and shops at an early hour. All classes went on foot; for carriages and wheeled vehicles were very scarce. Even physicians paid all their visits on foot; and, in another respect, they differed widely from the doctors of the present day—their charges were very moderate.

At funerals, it was the custom to give hot wine in winter, and wine-sangaree in summer. Ladies generally attended on such mournful occasions, especially if the deceased was a female, when burnt wine was served in silver tankards. At a later era, on the death of Mrs. Daniel Phoenix, the wife of the City Treasurer, all the pall-bearers were ladies.

The working man always wore his leather apron, no matter what his employment. Tradesmen were accustomed to saw their own wood; and a most healthful exercise it was. Nor did any man in middle circumstances fear to carry home his “one hundred weight” of meal from market. On the contrary, it would have been considered a disgrace to have avoided such a burden.

A greater change, however, in the habits of the people, cannot be named than in that of hired servants or

"help." The female servants formerly wore short gowns of green baize, with petticoats of linsey-woolsey, receiving only half a dollar a week for their wages. Now they demand from eight to fourteen dollars a month, and dress like fashionable ladies, displaying all their pride and show.

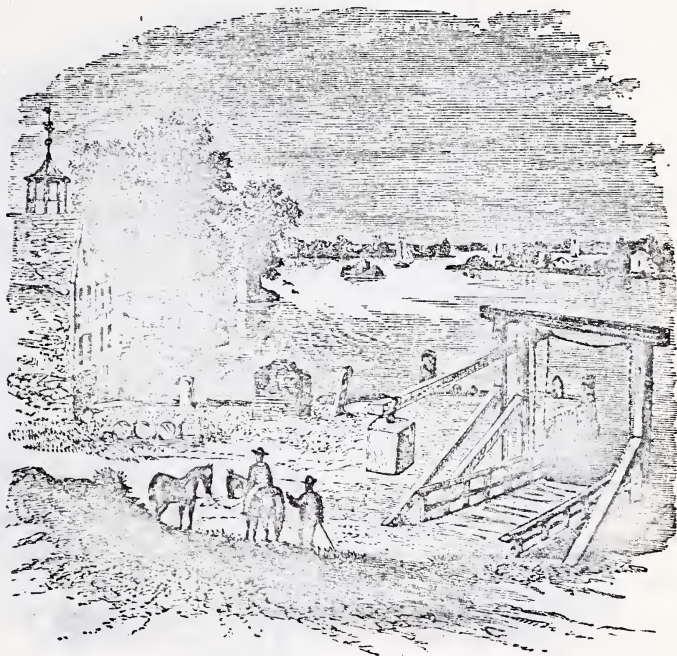
In these primitive days, also, when a man "set up business," he invariably took down his own shutters, opened the door, swept the store, and dusted the goods himself by the gray dawn. Then men grew rich by early rising, economy, and industry, and by attending to their own business themselves, and not leaving their interest in the charge of boys, agents, or clerks. The only capital of most young men then were industry and punctuality; and labor and honesty were as fashionable at this early day as stylish young men, defaulting cashiers, fast living, and fast horses are now. Neither would any sensible matron permit her daughter to encourage the attention of any young man who was not his own servant.

Shortly before the cession of New Amsterdam to the British rule, the settlement was celebrated for its number of young people, as the children of the early immigrants had then reached adult age. Several daughters of the wealthy burghers were married to young Englishmen whose visits were only of a temporary character. Many romantic rural spots, everywhere surrounding the settlements at New Netherland, were naturally favorable to the important business of courtship, and there were several places of pleasant resort famed for this business, even at that early day. The *Locust-Trees* was one, upon a bluff on the shore of the North River, a little back of the present Trinity Church-yard. From this commanding and shady eminence, the eye could wander over an extensive vista of river, bay, islands, and the bold, distant hills of New Jersey. Here, too, was the West India

Company's beautiful garden, on the site of the present Trinity Church, with its rich flowers and vegetable productions. A little beyond the town was *Maiden's Valley*, now Maiden Lane, a rural, shady walk, with a charming little rivulet meandering through it. The original name of this rustic walk was *T' Maagde Paatje*, or the "Maiden's Path." South of this lane stretched the *Clover Watie*, or "Pasture Field;" and from the present Gold street, hidden in the foliage, a little stream, fed by a living spring, came tumbling down the rocks. From John, near Gold, a longer walk led to the enchanting lakelet, the *Kolek*, or "Collect," nestling within a circle of forest hills. Like many such ponds in the vicinity of old villages, this, traditionally, had no bottom, and was said to be haunted by the spirits of some old native sachems, the paddles of whose canoes could be heard at night, though nothing was seen visibly to disturb the crystal waters. All these spots were famous trysting-places of the youthful New Netherlanders. But how changed the scene! Where those sparkling and beautiful waters once flowed, and the morning carols of the birds were heard, the dark, sorrowful and simple abodes of the "Five Points" now stand in close proximity to the gloomy prison cells of the "Tombs."

But although New York City, two hundred years ago, passed over to British rule, still the inhabitants remained Dutch in their manners, customs, modes of thought, and religious ideas, for many subsequent years. Sleighing was a fashionable amusement; and a ride to Harlem became the longest drive among the "city folk." Parties, however, often turned aside to visit "Hell Gate," influenced, doubtless, by the fact that on this road, over the Tamkill (a little stream emptying into the East River, opposite Blackwell's Island), was the *Kissing Bridge*, so laid down on the old maps, and named from the old Dutch custom of the gentlemen saluting their

lady companions whenever they crossed the bridge. That was the day also of the "cocked hats" and "cues," which stuck out from behind the head "stiff as a poker." The most fashionable gentleman made his appearance before the fair one who was to be his companion in the ride, in a large camlet cloak, with a very large cape, snuff-colored coat, small clothes and thick stockings drawn over the



VIEW NEAR HELL-GATE.

shoes to keep out the snow. In addition, a woollen tip-pet warmly protected his neck, and domestic-knit mittens his hands. People then showed their good sense by dressing according to the weather.

An old chronicle tells us that an Ethiopian, named Caesar, had great fame as a driver, fiddler, and waiter. The ladies, once upon a time, appeared in linsy-woolsey, with

hoods of immense size; and at noon away went the party in high glee, to the jingle of sleigh-bells, to take a cup of tea and a dance at Harl m. Reaching there, C sar tuned his three-stringed fiddle; when the gentlemen appeared in their snare-toed shoes, and the ladies in peak-toed, high-heeled slippers. Dancing and skipping the "light, fantastic toe" immediately begun, and continued until



TURTLE BAY AND BLACKWELL'S ISLAND.

eight o'clock in the evening, when they again hastened back to the city; for "to be out" after nine, on common occasions, was considered a certain sign of bad morals.

The earliest Dutch emigrants to New York left their deep impress upon the city and upon the State. Far-reaching commerce, which immortalized Old Amsterdam

in the seventeenth century, soon provoked the envy of New Amsterdam's neighbors, and in the end made our city the emporium of the Western World. Our ancestors left children and children's children, who were well fitted to act important parts in the great work of opening the American continent to European Christian civilization. They brought with them honest maxims, industry, and the liberal ideas of their *Fatherland*—their school-masters, their dominies, and their BIBLES. In the course of events, however, New Netherland passed over to British rule, when new customs, new relationships, and new habits of thought, were introduced.*

* It may be amusing to many of the present generation, so little accustomed to the old Dutch names, to read some titles once very familiar in New Amsterdam and New York, but now so seldom thought of or understood:

De Herr—Officer; or *Hoofdt-Schout*, High-Sheriff.

De Fiscoll—Attorney-General.

Groot Btngenecht, and *Klein Btngenecht*, the Great and Small Citizenship, early marking the two orders of society.

The *Schout* (Sheriff), *Burgomeesters*, and *Schepens*, then ruled the city, "as in all cities of the *Fatherland*."

Ghecim Schuyner—Recorder of Secrets.

Wees-Meesters—Guardians of Orphans.

Roy-Meester—Regulator of Fences.

Eyck-Meester—The Weigh-Master.

The word *Boss*, still in use, a century ago was written "*Baas*," and literally means "master."

SECOND PERIOD.

1674-1783.

From the English Conquest to the Revolutionary War and the Termination of British Rule.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE entering upon the history of this period, it seems desirable to take a ramble about the limits of New Amsterdam, and see for ourselves how it appeared at the time that the Dutch surrendered it to the English. In our walk we will take as our guide a map of the "*Towne of Wambados, or New Amsterdam, as it was in September, 1661,*" a copy of which now lies before us. 1661.

This is, so far as known, the only plan of the city executed in the early Dutch times, and was found a few years since in the British Museum.

The town wind-mill stood on a bluff, within our present Battery, opposite Greenwich Street. On Water, between Whitehall and Moore Streets, was the "Government House," built, by Stuyvesant, of stone, and the best edifice in the town. When Governor Dongan became its owner he changed its name from the "Government House" to "Whitehall," and hence the name of the street. It was surrounded by a large inclosure, one side of which, with

the garden, was washed by the river. A little dock for pleasure-boats ran into the stream at this point. Here, also, was located the Governor's house, between which and the canal in Broad street was the present Pearl Street, then the great center of trade—known as the "Water-side," and sometimes as the "Strand." Near the Governor's house was the "Way-house," or Weigh-house, at the head of the public wharf at the foot of the present Moore Street. A very short distance off, and parallel with Pearl, ran the *Bugh Straat* (the present Bridge Street), so named from the fact of its leading to the bridge across the canal in Broad. There was a small passage-way running through this block and along the side of the "Old Church," for convenient access to a row of houses laid down on the map. These, five in number, belonged to the Company, and were built of stone. In front of them was a beautiful sloping green. The canal in Broad Street was, in truth, but a narrow stream, running toward Wall Street for a quarter of a mile. Both sides were dyked with posts, in the fashion of *Fatherland*, at the distance of twelve feet from the houses. On each side, as houses line a canal in Holland, stood a row of buildings in the ultra-Dutch style, low, high-peaked, and very neat, with their gables toward the street. Each had its stoop, a vane or weather-cock, and its dormer-window. From the roof of one, a little iron crane projected, with a small boat at its end, as a sign of this being the "Ferry-house." The landing was at the head of the canal, in Broad Street, at the point where Garden united with it. This canal or little stream originally went up to "Verlettenberg Hill" (Exchange Place), afterward corrupted into "Flottenbanck." This was the head of tide-water; and here the country people from Brooklyn, Gowanus, and Bergen brought their marketing to the center of the city. Many of the market-boats were rowed by stout women, without

hats or bonnets, but wearing in their place close caps, There were generally two rowers to each craft.

Further along the East River, or "water-side," a building of considerable pretension appeared—the *Stadt Huys*, or City Hall, first erected as a tavern, but afterward taken by the municipal government. In front of the *Stadt Huys* was placed a battery of three guns. Proceeding along the river-shore, we pass Hanover Square, where two boats are lying, and approach the "City Gate," at the foot of Wall Street, sometimes called the "Water Gate," to distinguish it from the "Land Gate" at the end of the road on the *Sheera Straat* (Broadway). The Water Gate seems to have been quite an imposing structure, doubtless because Pearl Street was the great thoroughfare and main entrance to the town. Most of the strangers or visitors to New Amsterdam came from Long Island.

Continuing our walk toward Long Island Ferry, or "Passage Place," and passing by *Maagde Paatje* (Maiden Lane), we come to another public way leading to "Shoemakers' Land" and "Vandercliff's Orchard," both places of noted resort. This was the present John Street, from Pearl to Cliff.

At a very early day the tanneries in Broad Street were declared a nuisance, and their owners ordered to remove beyond the city limits. This they did, and established themselves along Maiden Lane, then a marshy valley.*

* When the *Maagde Paatje*, or Maiden Lane, was continued through to the river, and widened below Pearl Street for the slip called "Countess's Slip," in compliment (for some "slip" of hers?) to the lady of the Governor, Lord Bellamont, a market was built there, known as the *Fly Market*, the "Market in the Marsh," corrupted to the Fly Market. Hence, when in subsequent years there arose a sharp contest between a New-Yorker and a Philadelphian on the all-important question, in which of their cities was the best fare, the New-Yorker would boast of his fish, their variety, scores of kinds, their freshness; some even alive and gasping in the market. This fact was not to be denied; but to avoid the effect of a triumph, the Philadelphian would only, significantly, remind him, that however fresh his *fish* might be, the *flesh* he ate during the summer months

Four of the number, shoemakers by trade, purchased a tract of land bounded by Broadway, Ann, William, and Gold Streets, and here commenced their business. This region was thenceforth known as the *Shoemakers' Land*, a name which it retained so late as 1690, when it was divided into town-lots. The tanners were next driven from this locality into what is even now known as the "*Swamp*." The *Vandercliff's Orchard* was bounded by the East River, Shoemakers' Land, and Maiden Lane. Its original owner was Hendrick Ryker, who sold it in 1680 to Dirk Vandercliff. During the Revolution this tract received the more pleasant-sounding name of *Golden Hill*, so named, it is said, from the fine wheat grown on it. Cliff Street yet preserves a part of the old title. Proceeding past Golden Hill we come to a large edifice, close to the present site of Fulton Market, and marked on the map as "Alderton's Buildings," surrounded by a fence. This is supposed to be the store-house of Isaac Allerton, who resided at New Amsterdam and carried on an extensive trade with the New-England colonies. He was one of the emigrants in the *May Flower*, and a notable character in our early history. His business was the importation of tobacco from Virginia, and this edifice was probably his great tobacco depot.

Continuing our tour, we reach the "Passage Place," the present Peck Slip, known for a long time as the "Old Ferry." This was the earliest Brooklyn ferry; and its rates were regulated by the city authorities, in 1654, at three stivers for foot passengers, except Indians, who paid six, unless there were two or more. Here Cornelis Dirck-

was not quite free from taint. Since, from the swarms of the insect in the principal market, it was called emphatically the *Fly Market*. The poor New-Yorker, ignorant of the Dutch language and of the etymologies from it, and hence knowing no better than that it was the true name of the market, left without a reply; left to experience what no one can know who has not experienced how provoking it is to be obliged in a disputation to give up the point.

sen, the ferryman, who owned a farm near by, at the sound of a horn hanging on the tree ferried the passengers over in his little skiff. Still further on there was a little stream, on the bank of which stood a water-mill. This brook ran into *Walphat's Meadow*, which covered the present Roosevelt street and vicinity. This stream, known as "Old Wreck Brook," ran from the meadow into the Kolk (Collect), a bridge crossing it on the highway in Chatham near Pearl.

The "*Commons*" (the present Park) was a well-known spot in early New York. Through it passed the post-road to Boston, the present Chatham Street, and for many years this was the place for public executions. North of the Commons or the *Vlackte* (the "Flat"), lay the Fresh-Water Pond (to which allusion has already been made) with its neighboring district *Kolek Hook*, or Collect, below the Commons.* Near the Collect rose Potter's Hill. At its foot followed the "Owl's Kill," leading the waters of that pond through the marshes of "Wolfert's Valley" to the East River. Toward the river was the *Swamp*, the present Ferry Street and neighborhood, a low marshy place, covered with bushes and briars.†

* As the city gradually extended its limits, the powder-house, at first built on the Commons, was considered unsafe and a new magazine was built in 1728 upon a secluded little island in the Fresh-Water Pond. Not far from this place, in the course of the following year, Noe Willey, of London, gave to his three sons in New York the ground for a Jewish cemetery. It was bounded by Chatham, Catharine and Oliver Streets, and was to be held forever as a burial place for the Israelites. But the wishes of the old Hebrew have been violated long since, for Chatham Street now runs through the sacred inclosure, and Mammon has erected a bank and stores upon the spot. Some tomb-stones, however, still stand, like grim sentinels, to keep guard over this once hallowed and venerable grave-yard.

† In 1744, this tract was sold for £200 to Jacobus Roosevelt, who divided it into fifty lots and established on them several tanneries. This indicated its future destiny, and ever since it has been the center of the large leather trade of the city. More immense fortunes have been made about that region than any other of the same extent in the city. It was originally called *Beckman's Swamp*, and leased to Rip Van Dam, a member of the Council, for twenty-one years, at a yearly rent of twenty shillings.

The city-wall, called the "*Lingel*," or ramparts, was a row of palisades, with embankments nine feet high and four wide, on which several canon were mounted on bastions. Two large stone points were afterward added—one on the corner of Broadway and Wall, called "*Hollandia*," and the other on the north-west corner of Wall and William, known as "*Zealandia*." These completely commanded the whole front of the city-wall.

Retracing our steps into town, we have now leisure to examine more carefully the canal, which is laid down as running through the entire length of Broad Street. Thirty years later this canal was filled up. It had a little branch running toward the west through Beaver Street. The *Steeregraft*, or main canal, appears to have been crossed by two principal bridges, one at Bridge and the other at Stone Street, with smaller ones, evidently designed for foot-passengers. Near Beaver Street, small boats or canoes lay moored in the canal.

Pearl Street then, and many years afterward, formed the river bank. Water and South Streets have both been reclaimed from the water. On the west side of Broadway, above the grave-yard, at the present Morris Street, were the country-seats of Messrs. Vandergrist and Van Dyck. On Whitehall Street stood the parsonage of the Dutch Dominie, with its garden of beautiful tulips and hyacinths, and its paths of cedar and clipped box. Close at hand stood the bakery, brewery, and warehouse of the Company. In William, near Pearl, was the old horse-mill, erected, it will be remembered, by Director Minuit, and which did good service until superseded by the three wind-mills of Van Twiller. One of these stood on State Street, and was the most prominent object seen on approaching the city from the bay. The old fort itself was bounded by Bridge, Whitehall, and State Streets, and the Bowling Green.

Two main roads led from the fort at the Battery toward the northern part of the island. One of these, afterward the "Boston, or the old Post Road," followed Broadway to the Park, and then extended through Chatham, Duane, William, and Pearl Streets to the Bowery.* Along the Bowery road lay "Steenwyck's" and "Heerman's" orchards, with the well-known Stuyvesant's "Bowerie" (farm), whence the name. Near the last, and in the neighborhood of Gramercy Park, came "Crummashie Hill," while beyond were the "Zantberg" hills, with "Minetta" brook, which found its way through a marshy valley into the North River. Still further toward the north, near Thirty-Sixth street and Fourth Avenue, rose the "*Incleberg*" or "Beacon Hill," the Murray Hill of later times. From this latter point there was a commanding view of the whole island. The other main road also started from the fort, and passing through Stone Street to Hanover Square, led along the East River to the Brooklyn ferry.

Thus much for the *outward* appearance of New York at this time. In regard to its manners and interior life we are enabled—thanks to the late researches of the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, the Foreign Corresponding Secretary of the Long Island Historical Society—to speak even more definitely. Toward the middle of the seventeenth century a peculiar religious sect existed in Westphalia. They were known as Labadists, and professed a kind of mysticism, holding, nevertheless, to the tenets of the Dutch Reformed Church. In the summer of 1679 two of their number were sent over to America, with the view of ascertaining the nature of the

* In the year 1696 the first hackney-coach was introduced upon the Bowery road. Previous to this time, with the exception of the Governor's, private coaches were unknown.

country and government, and selecting a suitable place for the establishment of a colony of the religious community to which they belonged. The journal which they kept during their stay in America is of great interest, particularly that portion having reference to their visit to New York; for, aside from the quaintness and originality of the narrative, it is of peculiar value, as giving an inside view of the people of New Amsterdam at this time. As there were but a very small number of copies printed, and the circulation is therefore extremely limited, we shall take the liberty of quoting somewhat extensively from the work itself. *

"Having then fortunately arrived, by the blessing of the Lord, before the City of New York, on Saturday, the 23d day of September, we stepped ashore about four o'clock in the afternoon, in company with Gerrit, our fellow-passenger, who would conduct us in this strange place. He had lived here a long time, and had married his wife here, although she and his children were living at present at Zwolle. We went along with him, but as he met many of his old acquaintances on the way, we were constantly stopped. He first took us to the house of one of his friends, who welcomed him and us, and offered us some of the fruit of the country, very fine peaches and full-grown apples, which filled our hearts with thankfulness to God. This fruit was exceedingly fair and good, and pleasant to the taste; much better than that in Holland or elsewhere, though I believe our long fasting and craving of food made it so agreeable. After taking a glass of Madeira, we proceeded on to Gerrit's father-in-law's, a very old man, half lame, and unable either to walk or stand, who fell upon the neck of his son-in-law, welcoming him with tears of joy. The old woman was also very glad. This good man was born in Vlissingen, and was named Jacob Swart. He had been formerly a master-carpenter at Amsterdam, but had lived in this country upwards of forty-five years. After we had been here a little while, we left our traveling-bag, and went out to take a walk in the fields. It was strange to us to feel such stability under us, although it seemed as if the earth itself moved under our feet like the ship had done for three months past, and our body also still swayed after the manner of the rolling of the sea; but this sensation gradually passed off in the course of a few days. As we walked along we saw in different gardens trees full of apples of various kinds, and so laden with peaches and other fruit that one might doubt whether there were more leaves or fruit on them. I have never seen in Europe, in the best seasons, such an overflowing abundance. When we had finished our tour and

* This journal was found in manuscript, a few years since, in Holland, by Mr. Murphy, who, perceiving its value, presented it to the Long Island Historical Society, by whom a few copies were printed for the members in 1867.

given our guide several letters to deliver, we returned to his father-in-law's, who regaled us in the evening with milk, which refreshed us much. We had so many peaches set before us that we were timid about eating them, though we experienced no ill effects from them. We remained there to sleep, which was the first time in nine or ten weeks that we had lain down upon a bed undressed, and able to yield ourselves to sleep without apprehension of danger.

"24th, Sunday. We rested well through the night. I was surprised on waking up to find my comrade had already dressed himself and breakfasted upon peaches. We walked out awhile in the fine, pure morning air, along the margin of the clear running water of the sea, which is driven up this river at every tide. As it was Sunday, in order to avoid scandal and for other reasons, we did not wish to absent ourselves from church. We therefore went, and found there truly a wild, worldly world. I say wild, not only because the people are wild, as they call it in Europe, but because most all the people who go there to live, or who are born there, partake somewhat of the nature of the country, that is, peculiar to the land where they live. We heard a minister preach who had come from the up-river country, from Fort Orange, where his residence is, an old man named Domine Schaats, of Amsterdam. * * * "This Schaats then preached. He had a defect in the left eye, and used such strange gestures and language that I think I never in all my life heard anything more miserable; indeed, I can compare him with no one better than with one Do. Van Eecke, lately the minister at Armuyden, in Zeeland, more in life, conversation, and gestures than in person. As it is not strange in these countries to have men as ministers who drink, we could imagine nothing else than that he had been drinking a little this morning. His text was, *Come unto me all ye, &c.*, but he was so rough that even the roughest and most godless of our sailors were astonished.

"The church being in the fort, we had an opportunity to look through the latter, as we had come too early for preaching. It is not large; it has four points or batteries; it has no moat outside, but is inclosed with a double row of palisades. It is built from the foundation with quarry stone. The parapet is of earth. It is well provided with cannon, for the most part of iron, though there were some small brass pieces, all bearing the mark or arms of the Netherlanders. The garrison is small. There is a well of fine water dug in the fort by the English, contrary to the opinion of the Dutch, who supposed the fort was built upon rock, and had, therefore, never attempted any such thing. There is, indeed, some indication of stone there, for along the edge of the water below the fort there is a very large rock extending apparently under the fort, which is built upon the point formed by the two rivers, namely, the East River, which is the water running between the Mannhattans and Long Island, and the North River, which runs straight up to Fort Orange. In front of the fort, on the Long Island side, there is a small island called Noten Island (Nut Island), around the point of which vessels must go in sailing out or in, whereby they are compelled to pass close by the point of the fort, where they can be flanked by several of the batteries. It has only one gate, and that is on the land side, opening upon a broad plane or street, called the Broadway or Beaverway. Over this gate are the arms of the Duke of York. During the time of the Dutch there were two gates, namely, another on the water side; but the English have closed it and made a battery there, with a false gate. In front of the church is inscribed the name of Governor Kyft, who caused the same to be built in the

year 1642. It has a shingled roof, and upon the gable towards the water there is a small wooden tower with a bell in it, but no clock. There is a sun-dial on three sides. The front of the fort stretches east and west, and consequently the sides run north and south.

"After we had returned to the house and dined, my companion, not wishing to go to church, set about writing letters, as there was a ship, of which André Bon was master, about to leave in a few days for London; but in order we should not be both absent from church, and as the usual minister was to preach in the afternoon, I went alone to hear him. He was a thick, corpulent person, with a red and bloated face, and of very slabbering speech.* His text was 'The elders who serve well,' &c., because the elders and deacons were that day renewed, and I saw them admitted. After preaching, the good old people with whom we lodged, who, indeed, if they were not the best on all the Manhattan, were at least among the best, especially the wife, begged we would go with their son Gerrit to one of their daughters, who lived in a delightful place, and kept a tavern, where we would be able to taste the beer of New Netherland, inasmuch as it was also a brewery. Some of their friends passing by requested Gerrit and us to accompany them, and so we went for the purpose of seeing what was to be seen; but when we arrived there, we found ourselves much deceived. On account of its being to some extent a pleasant spot, it was resorted on Sundays by all sorts of revelers, and was a low pot-house. Our company immediately found acquaintances there and joined them, but it being repugnant to our feelings to be there, we walked into the orchard to seek pleasure in contemplating the innocent objects of nature. Among other trees we observed a mulberry-tree, the leaves of which were as large as a plate. The wife showed us pears larger than the fist, picked from a three years' graft which had borne forty of them. A great storm of rain coming up in the evening compelled us to go into the house, where we did not remain long with the others, but took our leave of them against their wishes. We retraced our steps in the dark, exploring a way over which we had gone only once in our life, through a *valley* (salt meadow) and over water upon the trunk of a tree. We nevertheless reached home, having left the others in their revels. While in their company we conversed with the first male born of Europeans in New Netherland, named Jean Vigné. His parents were from Valenciennes, and he was now about sixty-five years of age. He was a brewer and a neighbor of our old people."

* * * * *

"25th, Monday. We went on board the ship this morning in order to obtain our traveling bag and clothes for the purpose of having them washed, but when we came on board we could not get ashore again before the afternoon, when the passengers' goods were to be delivered. All our goods which were between-decks were taken ashore and carried to the public store-house, where they had to be examined, but some time elapsed before it was done, in consequence of the examiners being elsewhere. At length, however, one Abraham Lennoy, a good fellow apparently, befriended us. He examined our chest only, without touching our bedding or any thing else. I showed him a list of the tin which we had in the upper part of our chest, and he examined it and

* The minister here referred to was the Rev. William Nieuenhuisen.

also the tin, and turned up a little more what was in the chest, and with that left off, without looking at it closely. He demanded four English shillings for the tin, remarking at the same time that he had observed some other small articles, but would not examine them closely, though he had not seen either the box or the pieces of linen. This being finished, we sent our goods in a cart to our lodgings, paying for the two heavy chests and straw beds and other goods from the public store-house to the Smit's *valey*, sixteen stivers of zeawan, equal to three stivers and a half in the money of Holland. This finished the day, and we retired to rest.

"26th, Tuesday. We remained at home for the purpose of writing, but in the afternoon, finding that many goods had been discharged from the ship, we went to look after our little package, which also came. I declared it and it was examined. I had to pay twenty-four guilders in zeawan, or five guilders in the coin of Holland. I brought it to the house and looked the things all over, rejoicing that we were finally rid of that miserable set and the ship, the freight only remaining to be paid, which was fixed at four guilders in coin. We went first to Margaret in relation to the freight, who said she had nothing more to do with it, and that we must speak to her husband about it, which it was not convenient to do that evening, and we therefore let it go, waiting for an opportunity to speak to her and her husband with the captain, and perhaps also Mr. Jan.

* * * * *

"As soon as we had dined we sent off our letters, and this being all accomplished, we started at two o'clock for Long Island. This island is called Long Island, not so much because it is longer than it is broad, but particularly because it is the longest island in this region, or even along the whole coast of New Netherland, Virginia, and New England. It is one hundred and forty-four miles in length, and from twenty-four to twenty-eight miles wide, though there are several bays and points along it, and consequently it is much broader in some places than others. On the west is Staten Island, from which it is separated about a mile, and the great bay over which you see the *Neversincke*. With Staten Island it makes the passage through which all vessels pass in sailing from or to the *Mahatans*, although they can go through the *Kil Van Kool*, which is on the other side of Staten Island. The ends of these islands opposite each other are quite high land, and they are therefore called the *Hoofden* (Headlands), from a comparison with the *Hoofden* of the channel between England and France in Europe. On the north is the island of *Mahatans* and a part of the mainland. On the east is the sea, which shoots up to New England, and in which there are various islands. On the south is the great ocean. The outer shore of this island has before it several small islands and broken land, such as Coney Island,* a low, sandy island of about three hours' circuit, its westerly point forming with Sandy Hook on the other side the entrance from the sea. It is oblong in shape, and is grown over with bushes. Nobody lives upon it, but it is used in winter for keeping cattle, horses, oxen, hogs and others, which are able to obtain there sufficient to eat the whole winter, and to shelter themselves from the cold in the thickets. This island is not so cold as Long Island of the *Mahatans*, or others, like some

* *Conijnen Eylant*, Rabbit's Island.

islands on the coast, in consequence of their having more sea-breeze, and of the saltness of the sea breaking upon the shoals, rocks, and reefs with which the coast is beset. There is also the Bear's Island * and others, separated from Long Island by creeks and marshes overflowed at high water. There are also on this sea-coast various miry places like the Vlaeck † and others, as well as some sand bays and hard and rocky shores. Long Island stretches into the sea for the most part east by south and east-south-east. None of its land is very high, for you must be nearly opposite Sandy Hook before you can see it. There is a hill or ridge running lengthwise through the island, nearest the north side and west end of the island. The south side and east end are more flat. The water by which it is separated from the *Mahatans* is improperly called the East River, for it is nothing else than an arm of the sea, beginning in the bay on the west and ending in the sea on the east. After forming in this passage several islands, this water is as broad before the city as the Y before Amsterdam, but the ebb and flood tides are stronger. There is a ferry for the purpose of crossing over it which is farmed out by the year and yields a good income, as it is a considerable thoroughfare, this island being one of the most populous places in this vicinity. A considerable number of Indians live upon it, who gain their subsistence by hunting and fishing, and they, as well as others, must carry their articles to market over this ferry or boat them over, as it is free to every one to use his own boat, if he have one, or to borrow or hire one for the purpose. The fare over the ferry is three stivers ‡ in zeawan for each person.

"Here we three crossed over, my comrade Gerrit, our guide, and myself, in a row-boat, as it happened, which, in good weather and tide, carries a sail. When we came over we found there Jan Teunissen, our fellow-passenger, who had promised us so much good. He was going over to the city to deliver his letters and transact other business. He told us he would return home in the evening and we would find him there. We went on up the hill along open roads and a little woods, through the first village, called Breukelen, which has a small and ugly little church standing in the middle of the road. § Having passed through here, we struck off to the right in order to go to *Gouanes*. We went up on several plantations, where Gerrit was acquainted with most all of the people, who made us very welcome, sharing with us bountifully whatever they had, whether it was milk, cider, fruit, or tobacco, and especially and first and most of all, miserable rum or brandy which had been brought from Barbadoes and other islands, and which is called by the Dutch "*kill-devil*." All these people are very fond of it, and most of them extravagantly so, although

* *t Beeren Eyland*. Now called Barren Island.

† The Wieringen shoals in the Zuyder Zee are probably meant.

‡ Less than half a cent in our money.

§ Breukelen, now Brooklyn, was so called from the village of that name in the province of Utrecht. The church here referred to was built in 1666, and was the first one in Brooklyn. When it was taken down does not appear. "A second church," says Furman, in his *Notes relating to Brooklyn*, 76,* "was erected, on the site of that built in 1666, which second church continued standing until about 1810, when a new and substantial church was erected on Joralemon street, and the old one taken down. This old church was a very gloomy-looking building, with small windows, and stood in the middle of the highway, about a mile from Brooklyn ferry." Of this second church a view is given in the *Brooklyn Manual* of 1863.

it is very dear and has a bad taste. It is impossible to tell how many peach-trees we passed, all laden with fruit to breaking down, and many of them actually broken down. We came to a place surrounded with such trees, from which so many had fallen off that the ground could not be discerned, and you could not put your foot down without trampling them, and notwithstanding such large quantities had fallen off, the trees still were as full as they could bear. The hogs and other animals mostly feed on them. This place belongs to the oldest European woman in the country. We went immediately into her house, where she lived with her children. We found her sitting by the fire, smoking tobacco incessantly, one pipe after another. We inquired after her age, which the children told us was a hundred years. She was from Luyck (Liege), and still spoke good Waalsche (old French) with us. She could reason very well sometimes, and at other times she could not. She showed us several large apples, as good fruit of that country, and different from that of Europe. She had been about fifty years now in the country, and had above seventy children and grandchildren. She saw the third generation after her. Her mother had attended women in childbed in her one hundred and sixth year, and was one hundred and eleven or twelve years old when she died. We tasted here, for the first time, smoked *twaelft* * (twelfth), a fish so called because it is caught in season next after the *elft* † (eleventh). It was salted a little and then smoked, and although it was now a year old, it was still perfectly good, and in flavor not inferior to smoked salmon. We drank here, also, the first new cider, which was very fine.

"We proceeded on to Gouanes, a place so called, where we arrived in the evening at one of the best friends of Gerrit, named Symon. He was very glad to see us, and so was his wife. He took us into the house, and entertained us exceedingly well. We found a good fire, half-way up the chimney, of clear oak and hickory, of which they made not the least scruple of burning profusely. We let it penetrate us thoroughly. There had been already thrown upon it, to be roasted, a pail-full of Gouanes oysters, which are the best in the country. They are fully as good as those of England, and better than those we eat at Falmouth. I had to try some of them raw. They are large and full, some of them not less than a foot long, and they grow sometimes ten, twelve, and sixteen together, and are then like a piece of rock. Others are young and small. In consequence of the great quantities of them, everybody keeps the shells for the purpose of burning them into lime. They pickle the oysters in small casks, and send them to Barbadoes and the other islands. We had for supper a roasted haunch of venison, which he had bought of the Indians for three guilders and a half of *seewant*, that is, fifteen stuivers of Dutch money (fifteen cents), and which weighed thirty pounds. The meat was exceedingly tender and good, and also quite fat. It had a slight spicy flavor. We were also served with wild turkey, which was also fat and of a good flavor; and a wild goose, but that was rather dry. Every thing we had was the natural production of the country. We saw here, lying in a heap, a whole hill of watermelons, which were as large as pumpkins, and which Symon was going to take to the city to sell. They were very good, though there is a difference between them and those of the

* The striped bass.

† The shad

Caribby islands; but this may be owing to its being late in the season, as these were the last pulling. It was very late at night when we went to rest in a Kermis bed, as it is called, in the corner of the hearth, alongside of a good fire.

"30th, Saturday. Early this morning the husband and wife set off for the city with their marketing; and we, having explored the land in the vicinity, left after breakfast. We went a part of the way through a woods and fine, new-made land, and so along the shore to the west end of the island, called *Najack*.* As we proceeded along the shore, we found, among other curiosities, a highly-marbled stone, very hard, in which we saw Muscovy glass lying in layers between the clefts, and how it was struck or cut out. We broke off a small piece with some difficulty, and picked out a little glass in the splits. Continuing onward from there, we came to the plantation of the *Najack* Indians, which was planted with maize, or Turkish wheat. We soon heard a noise of pounding, like thrashing, and went to the place whence it proceeded, and found there an old Indian woman busily employed beating Turkish beans out of the pods by means of a stick, which she did with astonishing force and dexterity. Gerrit inquired of her, in the Indian language, which he spoke perfectly well, how old she was, and she answered eighty years; at which we were still more astonished that so old a woman should still have so much strength and courage to work as she did. We went from thence to her habitation, where we found the whole troop together, consisting of seven or eight families, and twenty or twenty-two persons, I should think. Their house was low and long, about sixty feet long and fourteen or fifteen feet wide. The bottom was earth, the sides and roof were made of reed and the bark of chestnut-trees; the posts, or columns, were limbs of trees stuck in the ground, and all fastened together. The top, or ridge of the roof, was open about half a foot wide, from one end to the other, in order to let the smoke escape, in place of a chimney. On the sides, or walls of the house, the roof was so low that you could hardly stand under it. The entrances, or doors, which were at both ends, were so small that they had to stoop down and squeeze themselves to get through them. The doors were made of reed, or flat bark. In the whole building there was no lime, stone, iron, or lead. They build their fire in the middle of the floor, according to the number of families which live in it, so that from one end to the other each of them boils its own pot, and eats when it likes, not only the families by themselves, but each Indian alone, according as he is hungry, at all hours, morning, noon, and night. By each fire are the cooking utensils, consisting of a pot, a bowl, or calabash, and a spoon also made of a calabash. These are all that relate to cooking. They lie upon mats, with their feet towards the fire on each side of it. They do not sit much upon any thing raised up, but, for the most part, sit on the ground, or squat on their ankles. Their other household articles consist of a calabash of water, out of which they drink, a small basket in which to carry and keep their maize and small beans, and a knife. The implements are, for tillage, a small, sharp stone, and nothing more; for hunting, a gun and pouch for powder and lead; for fishing, a canoe without mast or sail, and without a nail in any part of it, though it is sometimes full forty feet in length, fish-hooks and lines, and scoop to paddle with in place of oars. I do not know whether there are not some others of a trifling nature. All who live in one house are generally of one stock or de-

* Fort Hamilton, which is surrounded, in a great measure, by a marsh, and hence is here called an island.

scent, as father and mother, with their offspring. Their bread is maize, pounded in a block by a stone, but not fine. This is mixed with water, and made into a cake, which they bake under the hot ashes. They gave us a small piece when we entered, and although the grains were not ripe, and it was half-baked and coarse grains, we nevertheless had to eat it, or, at least, not throw it away before them, which they would have regarded as a great sin, or a great affront. We chewed a little of it *with long teeth*, and managed to hide it so they did not see it. We had also to drink out of their calabashes the water which was their drink, and which was very good. We saw here the Indians who came on board the ship when we arrived. They were all very joyful at the visit of our Gerrit, who was an old acquaintance of theirs, and had heretofore long resided there. We presented them with two jews-harps, which much pleased them, and they immediately commenced to play upon them, which they could do tolerably well. Some of their *patroons* (chiefs), some of whom spoke good Dutch, and are also their medicine-men and surgeons as well as their teachers, were busy making shoes of deer-leather, which they understand how to make soft by continually working it in their hands. They had dogs, fowls, and hogs, which they learn by degrees from the Europeans how to manage better. They had, also, peach-trees, which were well laden. Towards the last, we asked them for some peaches, and they answered: 'Go and pick them,' which showed their politeness. However, in order not to offend them, we went off and pulled some. Although they are such a poor, miserable people, they are, nevertheless, licentious and proud, and given to knavery and scoffing. Seeing a very old woman among them, we inquired how old she was, when some young fellows, laughing and jeering, answered twenty years, while it was evident to us she was not less than a hundred. We observed here the manner in which they travel with their children, a woman having one which she carried on her back. The little thing clung tight around her neck like a cat, where it was kept secure by means of a piece of daffels, their usual garment. Its head, back, and buttocks, were entirely flat. How that happened to be so we will relate hereafter, as we now only make mention of what we saw.

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" 4th, Wednesday. We slept for the night in our old place. In the morning the horses were harnessed to the wagon for the purpose of carrying us to the city, and bringing back some medicines which had arrived for him (Jaques) from Holland in our ship. We breakfasted to our full, and rode first to the bay, where we had left our traveling-bag. Seeing there was nothing to be accomplished with our Jan Theunissen, all his great promises having vanished without the least result, though they had cost us dearly enough, we let that rest quiet, and taking our leave, rode on to *t' Vlacker Bos*, a village situated about an hour and a half's distance from there, upon the same plain, which is very large. This village seems to have better farms than the bay, and yields full as much revenue. Riding through it, we came to the woods and hills, which are very stony and uncomfortable to ride over. We rode over them, and passed through the village of *Breukelen* to the ferry, and leaving the wagon there, we crossed over the river and arrived at home at noon, where we were able to rest a little, and where our old people were glad to see us. We sent back to Jaques half of our tincture calimanaris, and half of our balsam sulphur.

eous, and some other things. He had been of service to us in several respects, as he promised to be, and that with perfect willingness.

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"6th, Friday. We remained in the house during the forenoon, but after having dined we went out about two o'clock to explore the island of *Manathans*. This island runs east and west, or somewhat more northerly; on the north side of it is the North River, by which it is separated from the main-land on the north; on the east end it is separated from the main-land by a creek, or rather a branch of the North River, emptying itself into the East River. They can go over this creek at dead low water, upon rocks and reefs, at the place called *Spyt den duyel*. This creek coming into the East River forms with it the two *Barents islands*.* At the west end of these two running waters, that is, where they come together to the east of these islands, they make, with the rocks and reefs, such a frightful eddy and whirlpool that it is exceedingly dangerous to pass through them, especially with small boats, of which there are some lost every now and then, and the persons in them drowned; but experience has taught men the way of passing through them with less danger. Large vessels have always less danger, because they are not capable of being carried along quickly. There are two places where such whirling of the stream occurs, which are on account of the danger and frightfulness called the Great and Little Hellgate. After these two streams are united, the island of *Manathans* is separated on the south from Long Island by the East River, which, beginning at the bay before New York, runs eastwardly, after forming several islands, again into the sea. This island is about seven hours' distance in length, but it is not a full hour broad. The sides are indented with bays, coves, and creeks. It is almost entirely taken up, that is, the land is held by private owners, but not half of it is cultivated. Much of it is good woodland. The west end, on which the city lies, is entirely cleared for more than an hour's distance, though that is the poorest ground; the best being on the east and north side. There are many brooks of fresh water running through it, pleasant and proper for man and beast to drink, as well as agreeable to behold, affording cool and pleasant resting-places, but especially suitable places for the construction of mills, for although there is no overflow of water, yet it can be shut off and so used. A little eastward of *Nieu Haerlem* there are two ridges of very high rocks, with a considerable space between them, displaying themselves very majestically, and inviting all men to acknowledge in them the majesty, grandeur, power, and glory of the Creator, who has impressed such marks upon them. Between them runs the road to *Spyt den duyel*. The one to the north is most apparent; the south ridge is covered with earth on its north side, but it can be seen from the water or from the main-land beyond to the south. The soil between these ridges is very good, though a little hilly and stony, and would be very suitable, in my opinion, for planting vineyards, in consequence of its being shut off on both sides from the winds which would most injure them, and is very warm. We found blue grapes along the road, which were very good and sweet, and as good as any I have tasted in the Fatherland.

We went from the city, following the Broadway, over the *valey*, or the

* Now called Great and Little Barn Islands.

fresh water. Upon both sides of this way were many habitations of negroes, mulattoes, and whites. These negroes were formerly the proper slaves of the West India Company, but, in consequence of the frequent changes and conquests of the country, they have obtained their freedom and settled themselves down where they have thought proper, and thus on this road, where they have ground enough to live on with their families. We left the village called the *Bouwerij*, lying on the right hand, and went through the woods to New Harlem, a tolerably large village situated on the south side of the island, directly opposite to the place where the north-east creek and the East River come together, situated about three hours' journey from New Amsterdam, like as old Harlem in Europe is situated about three hours' distance from old Amsterdam. As our guide, Gerrit, had some business here, and found many acquaintances, we remained over night at the house of one *Geresolveert*,* scoup (sheriff or constable) of the old place, who had formerly lived in Brazil, and whose heart was still full of it. This house was constantly filled with people all the time drinking for the most part that execrable rum. He had also the best cider we have tasted. Among the crowd we found a person of quality, an Englishman, named Captain Carteret, whose father is in great favor with the king, and he himself had assisted in several exploits in the king's service. He was administrator or captain-general of the English forces which went, in 1660, to retake St. Kitts, which the French had entirely conquered, and were repulsed. He had also filled some high office in the ship of the Duke of York, with two hundred infantry under his command. The king has given to his father, Sir George Carteret, the entire government of the lands west of the North River, in New Netherland, with power to appoint as governor whom he pleased; and at this present time there is a governor over it by his appointment, another Carteret, his nephew, I believe, who resides at Elizabethtown, in New Jersey.† From this Carteret in England the Quakers have purchased the privilege of a government of their own over a large tract of territory which they have bought and settled within his dominion; and it is but little different from their having bought the entire right of government of the whole of his land. This son is a very profligate person. He married a merchant's daughter here, and has so lived with his wife that her father has been compelled to take her home again. He runs about among the farmers, and stays where he can find most to drink, and sleeps in barns on the straw. If he conducted himself properly, he could be, not only governor here, but hold higher positions, for he has studied the moralities, and seems to have been of a good understanding; but that is all now drowned. His father, who will not acknowledge him as his son, as before, allows him yearly as much only as is necessary for him to live on.

"7th, Saturday. This morning, about half-past six, we set out from the village in order to go to the end of the island; but before we left we did not omit

* *Resolved*, a Christian name.

† Philip Carteret, the brother, not the nephew, of Sir George, is the person here meant. He was appointed governor of New Jersey, under the joint proprietorship of Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, in 1664, and of East Jersey in 1674, under the sole grant of Sir George. He resigned in 1682, and died in December of that year, in this country, leaving a widow, the daughter of Richard Smith, Smithtown, on Long Island.—*Whitehead's East Jersey under the Proprietors*, 36, 84.

supplying ourselves with peaches, which grew in an orchard along the road. The whole ground was covered with them and with apples, lying upon the new grain with which the orchard was planted. The peaches were the most delicious we had yet eaten. We proceeded on our way, and when we were not far from the point of *Spyt den duyvel* we could see on our left hand the rocky cliffs of the main-land on the other side of the North River, these cliffs standing straight up and down, with the grain, just as if they were antimony. We crossed over the *Spyt den duyvel* in a canoe, and paid nine stuivers fare for us three, which was very dear. We followed the opposite side of the land, and came to the house of one *Valentyn*, a great acquaintance with our Gerrit. He had gone to the city, but his wife, though she did not know Gerrit or us, was so much rejoiced to see Hollanders that she hardly knew what to do for us. She set before us what she had. We left after breakfasting there. Her son showed us the way, and we came to a road entirely covered with peaches. We asked the boy why they left them to lie there and they did not let the hogs eat them. He answered, "We do not know what to do with them, there were so many; the hogs are satiated with them, and will not eat any more." From this we may judge of the quantity of them. We pursued our way now a small distance through the woods and over the hills, then back again along the shore to a point, where one *Webbligh*, an Englishman, lived, who was standing ready to cross over. He carried us over with him, and refused to take any pay for our passage, offering us at the same time some of his rum, a liquor which is everywhere. We were now again at New Harlem, and dined with *Gerosolceert*, at whose house we slept the night before, and who made us welcome. It was now two o'clock; and leaving there we crossed over the island, which takes about three-quarters of an hour to do, and came to the North River, which we followed a little within the woods, to *Sappokanikke*.* Gerrit having a sister and friends there, we rested ourselves, and drank some good beer, which refreshed us. We continued along the shore to the city, where we arrived in an hour in the evening, very much fatigued, having walked this day about forty miles. I must add, in passing through this island we sometimes encountered such a sweet smell in the air that we stood still, because we did not know what it was we were meeting."

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"14th, Saturday. Being under sail, as I have said, it was so entirely calm that we could only float with the stream until we came to *Schutters* island, where we obtained the tide again. It was now about four o'clock. In order to protect ourselves from the air, which was very cold and piercing, we crept under the sail, which was very old and full of holes. The tide having run out by daylight we came under sail again, with a good wind, which brought us to the city at about eight o'clock, for which we were glad, and returning thanks to God, betook ourselves to rest.

"15th, Sunday. We went at noon to-day to hear the English minister, whose services took place after the Dutch church was out. There were not above twenty-five or thirty people in the church. The first thing that occurred was the reading of all their prayers and ceremonies out of the prayer-book, as

* According to Judge Benson this was the Indian name of the point, afterward known as Greenwich, on the north side of the city.—*New York Historical Collections*, second series, 84.

is done in all Episcopal churches. A young man then went into the pulpit and commenced preaching, who thought he was performing wonders; but he had a little book in his hand out of which he read his sermon, which was about a quarter of an hour or half an hour long.† With this the services were concluded, at which we could not be sufficiently astonished. This was all that happened with us to-day."

† The only English minister in the whole province at this time was attached to the garrison at the City of New York. This was the Rev. Charles Wooley, a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1677. He came to New York in August, 1678, and left there for England in July, 1680. He was the author of a small volume with the title of *A Two Years' Journal in New York, etc.*, published in 1701, and recently republished, with notes by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, in Mr. Gowan's interesting series of early works on the colonies.

CHAPTER II.

The new *regime* in New York, under Edmund Andross, as her first Governor, dates from the year 1674. Andross was a public officer of ability, but well known for his imperious and despotic disposition.

The people immediately petitioned their royal master, the Duke of York, for an Assembly of Representatives; but James, who regarded popular bodies as dangerous, refused their prayer, with the question: "What do they want with Assemblies? They have the Court of Sessions presided over by the Governor; or, if this is not enough, they can appeal to me!" Such was the English spirit of oppression a century before it was resisted in blood at Golden and Bunker Hills. Upon learning of this reply of Andross, Sir William Berkley, Governor of Virginia, "thanked God that there were neither free-schools nor printing-presses in the colony," fervently adding, "God keep us from both!"

Governor Andross, however—much as he may in after years have merited from the people of the Eastern Colonies the title of the "Tyrant of New England"—governed New York with wisdom and moderation. Desirous of establishing himself on a popular basis with the people, one of his first official acts was to appoint, in 1676, a native Hollander—Nicholas Meyer—Mayor of the city. The selection was a good one. Meyer was one of the

most enterprising of traders, and, withal, a most respectable burgher; and although the duties of his office could not have been particularly onerous at a time when only *three hundred and one* names were recorded upon the list of tax-payers, yet what little he did was done honestly and *well*. Nor did Andros strive to be popular alone. Aware that no government can be a stable one unless placed on a basis of sound morality, he at once established ordinances for regulating the public morals and promoting the welfare of the city. "The city-gates were ordered to be closed at night at nine o'clock, and to be opened at daylight. The citizens were required to keep watch by turns, and were fined for absence or neglect of duty; and all profanity and drunkenness were strictly forbidden. Every citizen was ordered to provide himself with a good musket or firelock, with at least six charges of powder and ball, and to appear with good arms before the Captain's colors, at the first beating of the drum."

In 1677 the first native-born Mayor was appointed to the Mayoralty. This was Stephanus Van Cortlandt, a large property-holder, and after whom Cortlandt street is named. Under his administration seven public wells were placed in different parts of the city, chiefly as a protection against fires. 1677.

Meanwhile the necessity of conciliating the Iroquois—the most powerful Indian confederacy, at that time, in America—had received little or no attention from the people of New York or their Government. The first three English Governors of the colony, or rather lieutenants of the Duke of York—viz., Colonels Nicholls, Lovelace, and Major, afterward Sir Edmund Andros—bestowed but inconsiderable attention upon the Five Nations, not seeming to appreciate either the importance of their trade or of their friendship. Still, the moral hatred they had borne for the French inclined them rather to prefer the

friendship of the English. But the Duke of York, in his affection for the Church of Rome, shutting his eyes to what unquestionably should have been the true policy of the English toward the Indians, had conceived the idea of handing the Confederates over to the Holy See, as converts to its forms, if not to its faith. Hence the efforts to mediate the peace between the Iroquois and the French of 1667, which were followed by invitations to the Jesuit missionaries from the English, to settle among the Confederates, and by persuasions to the latter to receive them. The Mohawks were either too wise, or too bitter in spirit toward the French, to listen to the proposal. But not so with the other nations of the alliance; and the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas opened their eyes to the strangers in holy garb, causing infinite mischief in after years, as will appear in the sequel.

This peace of 1667 continued several years, during which time both the English and French prosecuted their trade with the Indians to a great and profitable
1667. extent. The French, especially, evinced a degree of energy, and a spirit of enterprise, almost unexampled in the history of colonization—planting their trading-posts, under the lead of the adventurous La Salle, at all the commanding points of the great lakes, and across the country of the Illinois to the Mississippi; and stealing the hearts of the Indians by means of the ministers of the order of Jesus, whom they sprinkled among the principal nations over the whole country of the exploration. By these bold advances deep into the interior, and the energy which everywhere characterized their movements, the French acquired a decided advantage over the English colonists in the fur trade, which it was evidently their design exclusively to engross; while the direct tendency of the Duke of York's policy, originating in blindness and bigotry, was to produce exactly the same result.

The error was soon perceived by Governor Dongan, who arrived in the colony as the successor of Major Andross, in 1683. Though his religious faith was in harmony with that of his royal master, he nevertheless possessed an enlarged understanding, with a disposition, as a Civil Governor, to look more closely after the interests of the crown than those of the crosier. He had not been long at the head of the colony before he perceived the mistakes of his predecessors in the conduct of its Indian relations. In fighting-men, the Five Nations at that time numbered ten times more than they did half a century afterward;* and the Governor saw at once their importance as a wall of separation between the English colonies and the French. He saw, also, the importance of their trade, which the Jesuit priests were largely influential in diverting to Canada. He saw that M. de Courcelles had erected a fort at Cadaraqui, within the territory of the Iroquois, on the north side of Lake Ontario,† and that La Salle had built a bark of ten tons upon that lake, and another of fifty upon Lake Erie, planting also a stockade at Niagara. He saw that the French were intercepting the trade of the English upon the lakes, and that the priests had succeeded in seducing numbers of the Mohawks and river Indians away from their own country, and planting their colonies upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the neighborhood of Montreal, through whose agency an illicit trade had been established with the City of Albany, by reason of which, Montreal, instead of Albany, was becoming the principal depot of the Indian trade. He saw, in a word, that the followers of Ignatius Loyola were rapidly alienating the affections of the Confederates from the English and transferring them to the French, and

* Memoir of Dr. Colden, concerning the fur trade, presented to Governor Burnet in 1724.

† The site of Kingston, Canada West.

that unless the policy respecting them were changed, the influence of the English would, at no distant day, be at an end with them. Nor had the priests confined their efforts simply to moral suasion; but, as though aiming to separate the Confederates from the English at a blow, and by a gulf so wide and deep as to be impassable, they had instigated them to commit positive hostilities upon the frontier settlements of Maryland and Virginia.

Having made himself thoroughly acquainted with these matters, Colonel Dongan lost no time in seeking to countervail the influence of the French, and bring back the Indians to a cordial understanding with his own people. His instructions from home were to encourage the Jesuit missionaries. These he not only disregarded, but he ordered the missionaries away, and forbade the Five Nations to entertain them. It is true this order was never enforced to the letter, the priests, some of them at least, maintaining a foot-hold at several points of the Confederacy—dubious at times, certainly—but yet maintaining it for three-quarters of a century afterward. Still, the measures of conciliation adopted by Colonel Dongan made a strong and favorable impression upon the Indians.

Availing himself of the difficulty between the Confederates and Virginia, consequent upon the outrages just adverted to as having been instigated by the priests, Colonel Dongan was instrumental in procuring a convention of the Five Nations, at Albany, in 1684, to

1684.

meet Lord Howard, of Effingham, Governor of Virginia; at which he (Dongan) was likewise present. This meeting, or council, was attended by the happiest results. The difficulties with Virginia were adjusted, and a covenant made with Lord Howard for preventing further depredations.* But what was of yet greater importance,

* Smith's *History of New York*.

Colonel Dongan succeeded in completely gaining the affections of the Indians, who conceived for him the warmest esteem. They even asked that the arms of the Duke of York might be put upon their castles, a request which it need not be said was most readily complied with, since, should it afterward become necessary, the Governor might find it convenient to construe it into an act of at least partial submission to English authority, although it has been asserted that the Indians themselves looked upon the ducal insignia as a sort of charm that might protect them against the French.*

There was likewise another fortunate occurrence of events just at that time, which revived all the ancient animosity between the Iroquois and the French. While the conferences between Lord Howard and the Indians were yet in progress, a message was received from M. de la Barre, the Governor of Canada, complaining of the conduct of the Senecas in prosecuting hostilities against the Miamies and other western nations in alliance with the French, and thus interrupting their trade. Colonel Dongan communicated the message to the Iroquois chiefs, who retorted by charging the French with supplying their enemies with all their munitions of war. "Onontio † calls us children," said they, "and at the same time sends powder to our enemies to kill us!" This collision resulted in open war between the Iroquois and the French, the latter sending to France for powerful reinforcements, with the design of an entire subjugation of the former in the ensuing year. Meantime the French Catholics continued to procure letters from the Duke of York to his lieutenant commanding him to lay no obstacles in the way of the invaders. But these commands were again disregarded.

* Colden's *History of the Five Nations*.

† The name by which the Iroquois were wont to speak of the French Governors of Canada.

Dongan apprised the Iroquois of the designs of the French, not only to march against them with a strong army, but simultaneously to bring down upon them the western Indians in their interest.

Thus, by the wisdom and strong sense of justice of Colonel Dongan, was the chain of friendship between the

English and the Five Nations brightened and the
1685. most amicable relations re-established. Yet for the course he had taken, he fell under the displeasure of his bigoted master on his accession to the throne in 1685.

It is not, of course, within the purpose of this history to trace the progress of the long and cruel wars that succeeded the negotiations between Colonel Dongan and the Confederates. Briefly, it may be said, in respect to the expedition of M. de la Barre, that it failed by reason of sickness in his army at Cadaraqui, before crossing the lake. He was succeeded in the government of Canada by

the Marquis Denonville, who invaded the Seneca
1687. country in 1687 with a powerful force, gaining, however, such a victory over the Indians in the Genesee Valley as led to an inglorious retreat. This invasion was speedily recompensed by the Confederates, who descended upon the French settlements of the St. Lawrence like a tempest, and struck a blow of terrible vengeance upon Montreal itself.

New York was at this time torn by the intestine commotions incident to the revolution which drove the Stuarts from the English throne and ended the power of the Catholics in the colony. It was a consequence of these divisions that the English could afford the Indians no assistance in their invasion of Canada at that time, else that country would then doubtless have been wrested from the Crown of France. But the achievements of the Indians were, nevertheless, most important for the colony of New York, the subjugation of which was at that pre-

cise conjuncture meditated by France, and a combined expedition, by land and sea, was undertaken for that purpose—Admiral Caffniere commanding the ships which sailed from Rochefort for New York, and the Count de Frontenac, who had succeeded Denonville, being the General of the land forces. On his arrival at Quebec, however, the Count beheld his province reduced to a field of devastation, and he was therefore constrained to abandon the enterprise.

Nor was Governor Dongan's administration in the government of the colony itself characterized by less wisdom than his dealings with the Indians. He was highly respected as Governor—being upright, discreet, and of accomplished manners, added to which his firm and judicious policy, and his steadfast integrity, soon won for him "the affections of his people, and made him one of the most popular of the Royal Governors." Two years previous to his arrival, the aldermen of New York, and the justices of the peace of the Court of Assize, in consequence of the tyranny of Andros, had petitioned the Duke that the people might be allowed to participate in the affairs of the government by the construction of a General Assembly, in which they might be represented. Through the interposition of William Penn, who enjoyed the favor both of the King and the Duke, the point was yielded, and Colonel Dongan was instructed to allow the people a voice in the government. Greatly, therefore, to the joy of the inhabitants, who had become turbulent, if not disaffected, under the rule of Andros, writs were issued to the sheriffs summoning the freeholders to choose representatives to meet the new Governor in Assembly. He thus gave the colony its first legislative Assembly, which, meeting for the first time in the city of New York, on the 1683.
17th of October, 1683, consisted of the Governor, ten

councilors, and seventeen representatives elected by the people. Henceforth, and up to the period of the American Revolution, the history of New York city as the legislative capital of the province, consists, for the most part, in a series of bitter scenes between the Assembly and the Royal Governors. The first act of the Assembly was to give to the province its first "Charter of Liberties," by which it was ordained "that supreme legislative power should forever reside in the Governor, Council, and people met in General Assembly; that every freeholder and freeman might vote for representatives without restraint; that no freeman should suffer but by judgment of his peers, and that all trials should be by a jury of twelve men; that no tax should be assessed on any pretense whatever but by the consent of the Assembly; that no seaman or soldier should be quartered on the inhabitants against their will; that no martial law should exist; and that no person professing faith in God, by Jesus Christ, should at any time be in any way disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion in matters of religion." Three assemblies, at least, were to be held every year; and should any seat become vacant, a new election was to be at once ordered by the Governor. One of the first acts of the Assembly was to divide the Province into twelve counties—New York, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Orange, Ulster, Albany, Westchester, Dutchess, Dukes, and Cornwall—all of which names, with the exception of the last two, still remain at the present day.

The Assembly, also, lost no time in bettering the condition of the city itself. "New police regulations were at once established. Sunday laws were enacted; tavern-keepers were forbidden to sell liquor except to travellers, citizens to work, children to play in the streets, and Indians and negroes to assemble on the Sabbath. Twenty

cartmen were licensed by the municipal authorities, on condition that they should repair the highways gratis whenever called on by the Mayor, and cart the dirt from the streets (which the inhabitants were required to sweep together every Saturday afternoon) beyond the precincts of the city. The rate of cartage was fixed at three pence per load to any place within the bounds of the city; beyond which the price was doubled. The cartmen, however, soon proved refractory, and a few weeks after the license system was abandoned, and all persons, with the exception of slaves, were allowed to act as cartmen.

“On the 8th of December, 1683, the city was divided into six wards. The First or South Ward, beginning at the river, extended along the west side of Broad to Beaver Street; thence westward along Beaver Street to the Bowling Green; thence southward by the fort to Pearl Street; and thence westward along the river-shore to the place of starting. The Second or Dock Ward, also beginning at the river at the south-east corner of Pearl and Broad street, extended along the shore to Hanover Square; thence northward through William to Beaver Street; thence along Beaver to Broad Street; thence back through Broad Street to the river-shore. The Third or East Ward formed a sort of triangle, beginning at the corner of Pearl and Hanover Square, and extending along the shore to the Half-Moon Fort at the foot of Wall Street; thence stretching along Wall to the corner of William, and thence returning along the east side of William to the river. The Fourth or North Ward, beginning at the northwest corner of William and Beaver Streets, extended through the former to the corner of Wall; thence westerly along the palisades to a line a little beyond Nassau Street; thence southerly to Beaver Street; thence easterly along Beaver to the first-named point. The Fifth or West Ward, beginning at the junc-

tion of the Fourth Ward with Beaver Street, extended northerly along the boundary line of the latter to Wall Street; thence along the palisades to Broadway; thence southerly to Beaver Street; thence easterly to the point of starting. The Sixth or Out Ward comprised all the farms and plantations outside the city walls, including the town of Harlem. Each of these wards was authorized to elect an alderman and councilman annually to represent them in the city government. The Governor and Council retained the appointment of the Mayor in their own hands; it was not, indeed, until long after the Revolution that this office was made elective by the people.

* * * * *

“In 1686 the Dongan Charter was granted to the city. This instrument, which still forms the basis of the municipal rights and privileges of New York, confirmed the franchises before enjoyed by the corporation, and placed the city government on a definite footing. The Governor retained the appointment of the mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, high-constable, town-clerk, and clerk of the market in his own hands; leaving the aldermen, assistants, and petty constables to be chosen by the people at the annual election on St. Michael’s Day. This charter, which was dated April 22, 1686, declared that New York city should thenceforth comprise the entire island of Manhattan, extending to the low-water mark of the bays and rivers surrounding it.

“In the same year the city received a new seal from the home government. This still preserved the beaver of the Dutch, with the addition of a flour-barrel and the arms of a wind-mill, in token of the prevailing commerce of the city. The whole was supported by two Indian chiefs and encircled with a wreath of laurel, with the motto, SIGILLUM CIVITATIS NOVI EBORACI.

"In 1687, Stephanus Van Cortlandt was again appointed Mayor. During his Mayoralty, it was determined to enlarge the city by building a new street in the river along the line of Water Street, between White-^{1687.}hall and Old Slip, and water-lots were sold by the corporation on condition that the purchasers should make the street toward the water, and protect it by a substantial wharf from the washing of the tide, in imitation of Waal (or sheet-pile) Street, extending along the line of Pearl street, from Broad to William Street, in front of the City Hall. It was not, however, until some years after, that this scheme was carried into effect, and the projected street rescued from the waters.

"Measures were also taken to enlarge the city still further by placing the fortifications further out, and laying out Wall Street thirty-six feet wide. The fortifications, indeed, were now worse than useless. The palisades which had been erected in 1653 along the line of Wall Street had fallen down, the works were in ruins, the guns had disappeared from the artillery-mounts, and the ditches and stockades were in a ruinous condition. Their immediate removal was determined on and ordered, but was delayed by the revolution which followed soon after. When war broke out between France and England in 1693, they were again repaired to be in readiness for the expected French invasion, and it was not until 1699 that their demolition was finally accomplished. Wall Street, however, was laid out immediately, and it was not long before it became one of the most important thoroughfares in the city. During the same year, a valuation was made of the city property, which was estimated on the assessor's books at £78,231."*

Many other municipal regulations concerning huck-

* Miss Mary L. Booth's *History of New York*.

sters, bakers, butchers, and others, were established—then esteemed of vital importance, but a repetition of which would only weary. A single item, however, deserves notice, as illustrating the punishments practiced in olden times. A pillory, cage, whipping-post,[†] and ducking-stool were set up in the vicinity of the City Hall, and hither were brought all vagrants, slanderers, pilferers, and truant children, to be exposed to the public gaze, and to receive such chastisement as their offenses might warrant.

Meanwhile, William and Mary had been proclaimed King and Queen of England in place of James II, who, having abdicated the throne, had become a wanderer on the Continent. This change in the home government from a Catholic to a Protestant one, necessitated a corresponding change in the Governor at New York. Colonel Slough-ter was, accordingly, commissioned to the government of New York in January, 1689, but did not arrive until the 19th of March, 1691. The selection of Slough-
1691.

ter was not fortunate. According to Smith, he was utterly destitute of every qualification for government: licentious in his morals, avaricious, and base. Leisler, who had administered the government after a fashion, since the departure of Dongan, intoxicated with power, refused to surrender the government to Slough-ter, and attempted to defend the fort, in which he had taken refuge. Finding it expedient, however, very soon to abandon the fort, he was arrested, and, with his son-in-law, Milburne, tried and executed for treason. Still, on the whole, the conduct of Leisler during the revolution had been considered patriotic, and his sentence was deemed very unjust and cruel. Indeed, his enemies could not prevail upon Slough-ter to sign the warrant for his execution until, for that purpose, they got him intoxicated. It was

* A whipping-post, put up in 1630, is still standing on the Village Green, in Fairfield, Connecticut.

a murderous affair. Sloughter's administration was short and turbulent. He died July 23d, 1691.

On the death of Sloughter, Richard Ingoldsby, the captain of an independent company, was made president of the council, to the exclusion of Joseph Dudley, who, but for his absence in Boston, would have had the right to preside, and upon whom the government would have devolved. But although Dudley very soon returned to New York, he did not contest the authority of Ingoldsby, who administered the government until the arrival of Colonel Fletcher, with a commission as governor, in August, 1692. In the preceding month of June, Ingoldsby met the Five Nations in council at Albany, on which occasion they declared their enmity to the French in the strongest possible terms. Their expressions of friendship for the English were also renewed. "Brother Corlaer," said the sachem, "we are all the subjects of one great king and queen; we have one head, one heart, one interest, and are all engaged in the same war." They nevertheless condemned the English for their inactivity, "telling them that the destruction of Canada would not make one summer's work, against their united strength, if ingeniously exerted."

In conducting the Indian affairs of the colony, Colonel Fletcher took Major Schuyler into his councils, and was guided by his opinions. "No man understood those affairs better than he; and his influence over the Indians was so great, that whatever Quider,* as they called him, either recommended or disapproved, had the force of a law. This power over them was supported, as it had been obtained, by repeated offices of kindness, and his single bravery and activity in the defense of his country."† Through the in-

* Quider, the Iroquois pronunciation of Peter. Having no labials in their language, they could not say Peter.

† Smith's *History of New York*.

fluence of Quider, therefore, Colonel Fletcher was placed upon the best footing with the Indians, by whom was conferred upon him the name of Cayenguinago, or "The Great Swift Arrow," as a compliment for a remarkably rapid journey made by him from New York to Schenectady on a sudden emergency.*

Despairing, at length, of accomplishing a peace with the Five Nations, Count Frontenac determined to strike a blow upon the Mohawks in their own country—which purpose was securely executed in the month of February, 1693. For once this vigilant race of warriors were taken by surprise, two of their castles being entered and captured without much resistance—the warriors of both having been mostly absent at Schenectady. On assailing the third or upper castle, however, the invaders met with a different reception. The warriors within, to the number of forty, were engaged in a war-dance, preparatory to some military expedition upon which they were about entering; and though inferior in force, yet they yielded not without a struggle, nor until thirty of the assailants had been slain. About three hundred of the Mohawks were taken prisoners in this invasion, in respect to which the people of Schenectady have been charged with bad conduct. They neither aided their neighbors, nor even apprised them of the approach of danger, although informed of the fact in due season themselves. But Quider, the fast friend of the Indians, took the field at the head of the militia of Albany, immediately on hearing of the invasion, and harassed the enemy sharply during their retreat. Indeed, but for the protection of a snow-storm, and the accidental resting of a cake of ice upon the river, forming a bridge for their escape, the invaders would have been cut off.

Fletcher was by profession a soldier, a man of strong

* Colden's *Six Nations*.

passions and inconsiderable talents; very active, and equally avaricious. His administration was so energetic and successful the first year, that he received large supplies, and a vote of special thanks from the Assembly. He was a bigot, however, to the Episcopal form of church government, and labored hard to introduce into the province the English language, to encourage English churches and schools. On this account he was soon involved in a violent controversy with the Assembly, who were at first inclined rather to favor the Dutch churches. But in 1693 an Assembly was found who, more pliant, 1693. passed an act "Providing for the building of a church in the city of New York, in which was to be settled a Protestant minister"—the word Protestant being tacitly understood to mean *Episcopal*. This was the origin of Trinity Church,* which was forthwith begun in 1696, and finished and opened for public worship, 1696. February, 1697, under the auspices of Rev. William Vesey. The church itself, which was a very insignificant building, resembled its present namesake 1697. on the same site in nothing save in having a very tall spire. Certainly it did not resemble the present Trinity in having set apart in it (as it did) a pew for the Mayor and Common Council, to whom a sermon was annually preached, on the day of the city election.

Fletcher was succeeded by Richard, Earl of Bellamont, who was appointed Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, in May, 1695, but did not arrive in New York until May, 1698. He 1698. was appointed by King William with a special view to the suppression of piracy in the American seas—New York, at that time, having been a commercial depot of

* This church was destroyed by fire in 1776, and lay in ruins until 1788, when it was rebuilt. In 1839 it was torn down to build the present edifice, which was opened in 1846.

the pirates, with whom Fletcher and other officers in the colony had a good understanding. Kidd was fitted out with a ship by Bellamont, Robert Livingstone, and others, including several English noblemen. Turning pirate himself, Kidd was afterward arrested in Boston by the Earl, and sent home for trial. The Earl was a nobleman of polite manners, a great favorite of King William, and very popular among the people both of New York
1701. and Boston. He had been dissipated in his youth, but afterward became penitent and devout. He died in New York in March, 1701.

On the death of Earl Bellamont, the government devolved upon Mr. Nanfan, the Lieutenant-Governor, until the appointment of Lord Cornbury in 1702.

1702. A public dinner was given in honor of his arrival; he was presented with the freedom of the city, in a gold box; and a congratulatory address was tendered him by the city authorities. It was not long, however, before his true character appeared. He was a very tyrannical, base, and profligate man, and was appointed to the government of New York by King William as a reward for his desertion of King James, in whose army he was an officer. He was a savage bigot and an ungentlemanly tyrant. He imprisoned several clergymen who were dissenters, and robbed the Rev. M. Hubbard, of Jamaica, of his house and glebe. He was wont to dress himself in women's clothes, and thus patrol the fort. His avarice was insatiable, and his disposition that of a savage.

The only things worthy of note during his administration are: First, the establishment by the corporation of the city of a free grammar-school; and, second, the raging of a malignant epidemic, which strongly resembled the yellow-fever. The terror-stricken citizens fled to the shores of New Jersey and Staten Island; and Lord Cornbury, with his council, took up his quarters at Ja-

maica, Long Island. But the inhabitants of New York had a worse plague than even the pestilence, in Cornbury; who, at length, becoming an object of universal abhorrence and detestation, was superseded 1708. by Queen Anne, who, in the autumn of 1708, appointed John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, in his place.

Lovelace, however, did not long enjoy either the cares or pleasures of office. He died on the 5th of May in the next year, of a disorder contracted in crossing the ferry on his first arrival in New York. On the death of his lordship, the government once more devolved 1710. upon Richard Ingoldsby, the Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, until the arrival of Governor Hunter, in the summer of 1710.

Hunter was a Scotchman, and when a boy, an apprentice to an apothecary. Leaving his master, he entered the army, and, being a man of wit and beauty, gained promotion, and also the hand of Lady Hay. In 1707, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, but being captured by the French on his voyage out, on his return to England he was appointed to the government of New York and New Jersey, then united in the same jurisdiction. Governor Hunter was the man who brought over the three thousand Palatines from Germany, by whom the German settlements in the interior of New York and Pennsylvania were founded. He administered the government of the colony "well and wisely," as was said to him in an affectionate parting address by 1719. the General Assembly, until the summer of 1719, when he returned to England on leave of absence, as well on account of his health as to look after his private affairs. He intimated, upon his departure, that he might return to the government again, but did not. The chief command on his departure devolved on the Hon. Peter Schuyler, as the oldest member of the council, but only

for a brief period. He, however, held a treaty with the Six Nations at Albany, which was considered satisfactory; yet it would have been more so had his efforts to induce the Confederates to drive Joncaire, the agent of the French, out of their country, been successful. This Jesuit emissary had resided among the Senecas from the beginning of Queen Anne's reign. He had been adopted by them, and was greatly beloved by the Onondagas. He was incessant in his intrigues in behalf of the French, facilitating the missionaries in their progress through the country, and contributing greatly to the vacillating course of the Indians toward the English. Schuyler was aware of all this; but, notwithstanding his own great influence over the Six Nations, he could not prevail upon them to discard their favorite. In other respects the government of Schuyler was marked by moderation, wisdom, and integrity.

About this period a "new market was established at the upper end of Broad Street, between the City Hall and Exchange Place, and permission was given to the residents of the vicinity to erect stalls and sheds to suit their convenience, under the direction of the Clerk of the Market. Country people were also permitted to sell meat at wholesale or retail, as they pleased, subject to the same supervision; and bakers were required to brand their loaves with their initials, under penalty of forfeiture of the bread. In the spring of the same year (1711), it was resolved that a meeting of the Common Council should be held at the City Hall on the first Friday of every month; and the treasurer was also ordered to purchase eighteen *rush*-bottomed chairs and an oval table for their accommodation.

In regard to the appearance of the city itself at this time we are not left entirely to conjecture. In the
1704. month of October 1704, Miss Sarah Knight, a Boston lady of considerable shrewdness and observa-

tion, and who was connected with some of the old New-England families, traveled on horseback from Boston to New York, on a visit to some of her friends. During her journey she kept a journal, in which she jotted down her experiences of men and things noted by the way. This journal, which has recently been printed for private circulation, contains the following quaint passage, descriptive of the city at this period:

"The Citie of New York is a pleasant well compacted place, situated on a commodious River, wch is a fine harbour for shipping. The Building Brick Generally very stately and high, though not altogether like ours in Boston. The Bricks in some of the Houses are of divers Coullers and laid in Checkers, being glazed, look very agreeable. The inside of them are neat to admiration, the wooden work, for only the walls are plastered, and the Summers and Gist* are plained and kept very white scow'd as so is all the partitions made of Bords. The fire-places have no Jambs (as ours have) But the Backs run flush with the walls, and the Hearth is of Tyles and is as farr out into the Room at the Ends as before the fire, wch is Generally Five foot in the Low'r rooms, and the peice over where the mantle tree should be is made as ours with Joyners work, and as I suppose is fasten'd to iron rodds inside. The House where the Vendue was, had Chimney Corners like ours, and they and the Hearth were laid wth the finest tile that I ever see, and the stair cases laid all with white tile which is ever clean,† and so are the walls of the Kitchen, which had a Brick floor. They were making Great preparations to Receive their Governor, Lord CORNBURY from the Jerseys, and for that End raised the militia to Gard him on shore to the fort.‡

"They are Generaly of the Church of England and have a New-England Gentleman§ for their Minister, and a very fine church set out with all Customary requisites. There are also a Dutch|| and Divers Conventicles, as they

* Summers and joist. The Summer, a word now not in very common use, was a central beam supporting the joist, such as is now sometimes called the bearing beam.

† The tiles were set into the wall, forming, as it were, a continuous border or row of the width of one tile (or perhaps sometimes of more) close to the upper line of staircase. The Coeymans house, standing on the bank of the Hudson, just north of the village of Coeymans, still shows most of these peculiarities of building mentioned by Mme. Knight; the staircase laid with tiles, no plaster except on the walls, and heavy floor-timbers, strengthened at the ends by solid knees, planed and "kept very white scoured."

‡ On the block between Bowling Green, Whitehall, Bridge, and State Streets.—*Valentine's History of New York*, 28.

§ William Vesey, previously "a dissenting preacher on Long Island. He had received his education in Harvard under that rigid Independent, Increase Mather, and was sent thence by him to confirm the minds of those who had removed for their convenience from New England to this Province. * * * But Col. Fletcher, who saw into his design, took off Mr. Vesey by an invitation to this living; * * * and Mr. Vesey returned from England in Priest's orders."—*Documentary History of New York*, III, 438.

|| The Reformed Dutch Church, built in 1693, in what is now Exchange Place.—*Greenleaf's History of N. Y. Churches*, 11.

call them, viz.: Baptist,* Quakers,† &c. They are not strict in keeping the Sabbath as in Boston and other places where I had bin, But seem to deal with great exactness as farr as I see or Deall with. They are sociable to one another and Curteos and Civill to strangers and fare well in their houses. The English go very fashernable in their Dress. But the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women, in ther habitt go loose, were French muches wch are like a Capp and a head band in one, leaving their ears bare, which are sett out wth Jewells of a large size and many in number. And their fingers hoop't with rings, some with large stones in them of many Coullers as were their pendants in their ears, which You should see very old womens wear as well as Young.

"They have Vendues very frequently, and make their earnings very well by them, for they treat with good Liquor Liberally, and the customers Drink as Liberally, and Generally pay for't as well, by paying for that which they Bidd up Briskly for, after the sack has gone plentifully about, tho' sometimes good penny worths are got there. Their Diversions in the Winter is Riding Sleys about three or four Miles out of Town, where they have Houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery,‡ and some go to friends' Houses, who handsomely treat them. Mr. BURROUGHS carry'd his spouse and Daughter and myself out to one Madame DOWES, a Gentlewoman that lived at a farm House, who gave us a handsome entertainment of five or six Dishes and choice Beer and metheglin, Cyder, &c., all which she said was the produce of her farm. I believe we mett fifty or sixty slays that day; they fly with great swiftness, and some are so furious that they'll turn out of the path for none except a Loaden Cart. Nor do they spare for any diversion the place affords and sociable to a degree, they'r Tables being as free to their Naybours as to themselves."

William Burnet, son of the celebrated prelate of that name, who flourished in the reign of William and Mary, succeeded Hunter in the government of the colony, in the year 1720; and of all the colonial Governors of New York, with the exception of Colonel Dongan, his Indian and colonial policy was marked by the most prudent forecast and the greatest wisdom. Immediately after the peace of Utrecht a brisk trade in goods for the Indian market was revived between Albany and

* Greenleaf, however, gives 1799 as the first Baptist preaching—that of Wickenden. A petition of Nicholas Eyres states that in 1715 his house was registered for an Anabaptist meeting-house.—*Documentary History of New York*, III, 480.

† The first Friends' Meeting-house—a small frame building, standing on Little Green Street—is said to have been erected in 1696 or 1705.—*Greenleaf*, 116.

‡ "A small tavern stood on the banks of the Harlem River. This tavern was the occasional point of excursion for riding parties from the city, and was known as the 'Wedding-place.' One or two small taverns were on the road between the town and the Bowery."—*Valentine's History of New York*, 69.

Montreal, the Caughnawaga tribe of the Mohawks residing near Montreal serving as carriers. The chiefs of the Six Nations foresaw the evil and inevitable consequences to result from allowing that trade to pass round in that direction, inasmuch as the Indians would of course be drawn exclusively to Montreal for their supplies, to be received immediately at the hands of the French, and they cautioned the English authorities against it. Mr. Hunter had indeed called the attention of the General Assembly to the subject at an antecedent period; but no action was had thereon until after Mr. Burnet had assumed the direction of the colonial administration. The policy of the latter was at once to cut off an intercourse so unwise and dangerous with Montreal, and bring the entire Indian trade within the limits and control of New York. To this end an act was passed, at his suggestion, subjecting the traders with Montreal to a forfeiture of their goods, and a penalty of one hundred pounds for each infraction of the law. It likewise entered into the policy of Mr. Burnet to win the confidence of the Caughnawagas, and reunite them with their kindred in their native valley. But the ties by which the Roman priesthood had bound them to the interests of the French were too strong, and the efforts of the Governor were unsuccessful.

In furtherance of the design to grasp the Indian trade, not only of the Six Nations, but likewise that of the remoter nations of the upper lakes, a trading-post was established at Oswego in 1722. A trusty agent was also appointed to reside at the great council-fire of the Onondagas, the central nation of the Confederates. A congress of several of the colonies was held at Albany to meet the Six Nations, during the same year, which, among other distinguished men, was attended by Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, Sir William Keith, of Pennsylvania, and by Governor Burnet. At this council the

chiefs stipulated that in their Southern war expeditions they would not cross the Potomac; and in their marches against their Southern enemies, their path was to lie westward of the great mountains, meaning the Alleghanies. Mr. Burnet again brightened the chain of friendship with them on the part of New York, notwithstanding the adverse influences exerted by the Chevalier Joncaire, the Jesuit agent residing alternately among the Senecas and Onondagas.

The beneficial effects of Mr. Burnet's policy were soon apparent. In the course of a single year more than forty young men plunged boldly into the Indian country as traders, acquired their language, and strengthened the precarious friendship existing between the English and the more distant nations; while tribes of the latter previously unknown to the colonists, even from beyond the Michilimackinac, visited Albany for purposes of traffic.

The establishment of an English post at Oswego was a cause of high displeasure to the French, who, in order to intercept the trade from the upper lakes that would otherwise be drawn thither, and thus be diverted from Montreal, determined to repossess themselves of Niagara, rebuild the trading-house at that point, and repair their dilapidated fort. The assent of the Onondagas to this measure was obtained by the Baron de Longueuil, who visited their country for that purpose, through the influence of Joncaire and his Jesuit associates. But the other members of the Confederacy, disapproving of the movement, declared the permission given to be void, and dispatched messengers to Niagara to arrest the procedure. With a just appreciation of the importance of such an encroachment upon their territory, the Confederates met Mr.

1727. Burnet in council upon the subject at Albany in 1727. "We come to you howling," said the chiefs; "and this is the reason why we howl, that the

Governor of Canada encroaches upon our land and builds thereon." Governor Burnet made them a speech on the occasion, beautifully expressed in their own figurative language, which gave them great satisfaction.* The chiefs, declaring themselves unable to resist this invasion of the French, entreated the English for succor, and formally surrendered their country to the great king, "to be protected by him for their use," as heretofore stated. But Governor Burnet, being at that period involved in political difficulties with an Assembly too short-sighted or too factious to appreciate the importance of preserving so able a head to the colonial government, was enabled to do nothing more for the protection of the Indians than to erect a small military defense at Oswego; and even this work of necessity he was obliged to perform at his own private expense. Meantime the French completed and secured their works at Niagara without molestation.

In the course of the same year, having been thwarted in his enlarged and patriotic views by several successive assemblies, Mr. Burnet, one of the ablest and wisest of the colonial administrators, retired from the government of New York, and accepted that of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. His departure, personally, was universally regretted. He was not only a man of letters, but of wit—a believer in the Christian religion, yet not a serious professor. A variety of amusing anecdotes has been related of him. When on his way from New York to assume the government at Boston, one of the committee who went from that town to meet him on the borders of Rhode Island was the facetious Colonel Tailer. Burnet complained of the long graces that were said before meals by clergymen on the road, and asked when they would

* Smith's *History of New York*.

shorten. Tailer answered: "The graces will increase in length till you come to Boston; after that they will shorten till you come to your government of New Hampshire, where your excellency will find no grace at all."

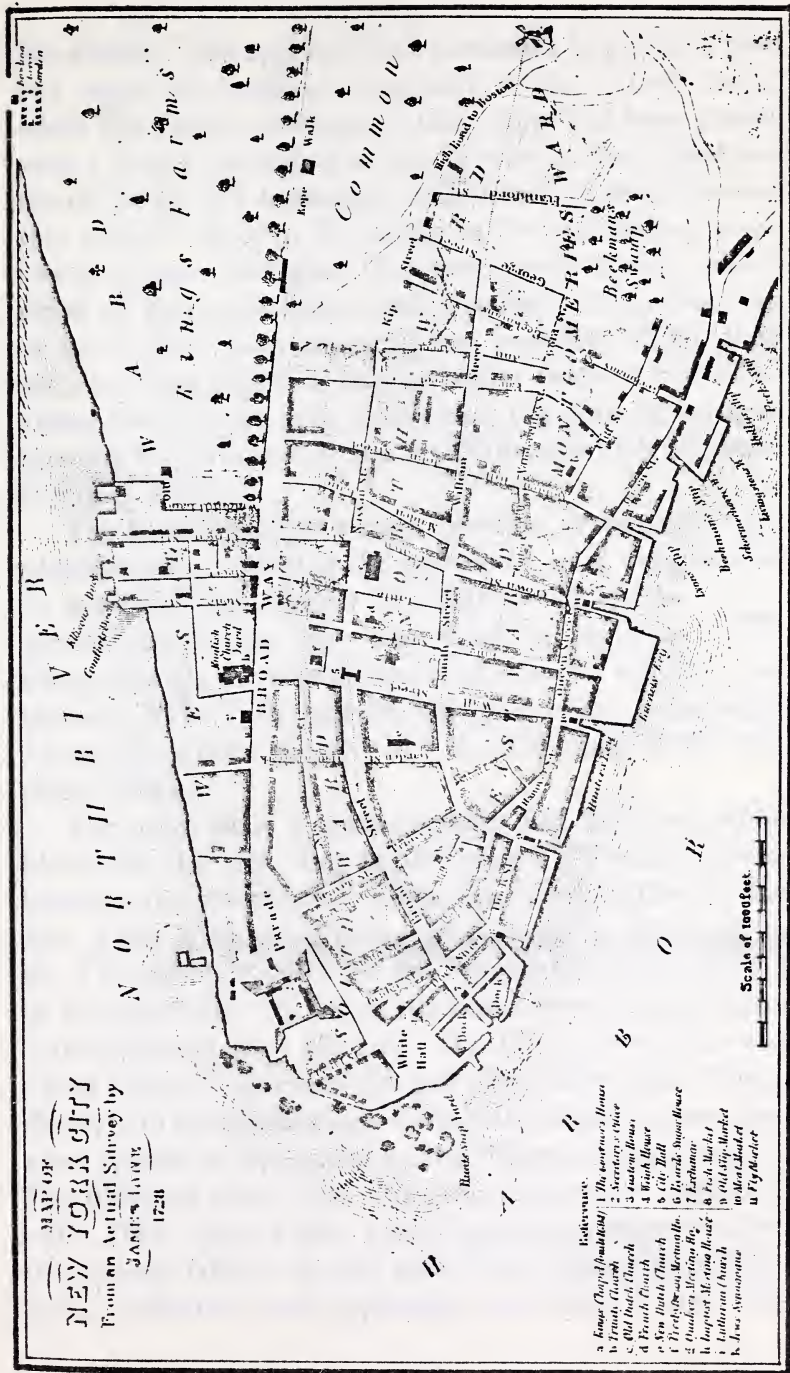
Colonel John Montgomery succeeded Mr. Burnet in the government of the colonies of New York and New Jersey

in the month of April, 1728. He was a Scotchman, and bred a soldier. But quitting the profession of arms, he went into Parliament, serving, also, for a time, as groom of the bed-chamber to his majesty George II, before his accession to the throne. He was a man of moderate abilities and slender literary attainments. He was too good-natured a man to excite enmities; and his administration was one of tranquil inaction. He was an indolent man, and had not character enough to inspire opposition.

The French, perceiving this, and enraged at the erection of a fort at Oswego, were now menacing that post. The new Governor thereupon met the Six Nations in council at Albany, to renew the covenant chain, and engage them in the defense of that important station. Large presents were distributed among them, and they declared their willingness to join the reinforcements detached from the independent companies for that service. Being apprised of these preparations, the French desisted from their threatened invasion.

Much of the opposition to the administration of Governor Burnet had been fomented and kept alive by the Albanians, who, by the shrewdness of his Indian policy, and the vigorous measures by which he had enforced it, had been interrupted in their illicit trade in Indian goods with Montreal, and also by the importers of those goods residing in the city of New York. Sustained, however, by his council-board, and by the very able memoir of Dr. Colden upon that subject, Mr. Burnet, as the reader

MAP OF
NEW YORK CITY
 From an Actual Survey by
 JAMES LANE
 1726



- Reference.
- | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|----|---------------------|
| a | Kings Chapel (Quaker) | 1 | The Courtiers House |
| b | Trinity Church | 2 | Secretary's Office |
| c | Old Dutch Church | 3 | Custom House |
| d | French Church | 4 | Watch House |
| e | St. Paul's Church | 5 | City Hall |
| f | Trinity Church | 6 | Private House |
| g | Trinity Church | 7 | Exchange |
| h | Quakers Meeting Hg. | 8 | Rich Hall |
| i | Quakers Meeting Hg. | 9 | Old Ship-Market |
| j | Cathedral Church | 10 | Pig Market |
| k | Low Archway | | |

Scale of 100 feet

has already been apprised, had succeeded in giving a new and more advantageous character to the inland trade, while the Indian relations of the colony had been placed upon a better footing, in so far, at least, as the opportunities of the French to tamper with them had been measurably cut off. But in December of the succeeding year, owing to some intrigues that were never clearly understood, all these advantages were suddenly relinquished by an act of the Crown repealing the measures of Mr. Burnet; reviving, in effect, the execrable trade of the Albanians, and thus at once re-opening the door of intrigue between the French and the Six Nations, which had been so wisely closed.

The three principal events, however, of Montgomery's administration affecting the city itself, were the grant of an amended city charter in 1730, by which the jurisdiction of the city was fixed to begin at 1730. King's Bridge, the establishment of a line of stages to run between New York and Philadelphia once a fortnight during the winter months, and the founding of the first public library.

For more than a century there had been no public library in the city; but in the year 1729 some sixteen hundred and twenty-two volumes were bequeathed by the Rev. John Millington, rector of Newington, England, to the "Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," by whom the books were in turn immediately presented to the city. To this number also was added another collection, the gift of the Rev. John Sharp, chaplain to Lord Bellamont, when both collections, now one, were opened to the public as the "Corporation Library." The librarian dying soon after, the books were neglected until 1754, when a few public-spirited citizens founded the *Society Library*, at the same time adding the Corporation collection and depositing the whole in the City

Hall. The undertaking prospered, and in 1772 George III granted it a charter. During the Revolutionary struggle the library was neglected; but when peace was restored in 1783, the society revived their charter and again set themselves to work collecting those volumes that had been scattered and replacing those irretrievably lost by new ones. Their efforts were so far successful as to warrant them in erecting a library building on Nassau Street, opposite the Dutch church, a building that for a long time was considered one of the finest specimens of architecture of which the city could boast. Thence it was removed to the Mechanics' Society building on Chambers Street, where it remained until the completion of their new and fine edifice in 1840 on the corner of Broadway and Leonard Street. This spot was next vacated and quarters were obtained for it in the new Bible House, Astor Place, whence, in 1857, it once more removed to its beautiful edifice in University Place, between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets. Such is a short sketch of the first public library of New York, commenced one hundred and thirty-nine years ago.

On the decease of Colonel Montgomery, in 1731, the duties of the colonial executive were for a brief period exercised by Mr. Rip Van Dam, as President of the Council.* His administration was signalized by the memorable infraction of the treaty of Utrecht by the French, who then invaded the clearly-defined territory of New York, and built the fortress of St. Frederick, at Crown Point, a work which gave them the command of Lake Champlain—the highway between the English and French colonies. The pusillanimity evinced by the government of New York on the occasion of that flagrant

* Mr. Van Dam was an eminent merchant in the city of New York, "of a fair estate," says Smith, the historian, "though distinguished more for the integrity of his heart than his capacity to hold the reins of government."

encroachment upon its domains, excites the amazement of the retrospective reviewer. Massachusetts, alarmed at this advance of the rivals, if not natural enemies, of the English upon the settlement of the latter, first called the attention of the authorities of New York to the subject; but the information was received with the most provoking indifference. There was a regular military force in the colony abundantly sufficient, by a prompt movement, to repel the aggression, yet not even a remonstrance was uttered against it. With the exception of this infringement upon the territory of New York, nothing worthy of special mention occurred during the administration of Mr. Van Dam. In August, 1732, Colonel William Cosby arrived in New York as his successor.

1732.

The first act of the new Governor was one which, having its rise at first in a mere personal quarrel, was destined to establish, for all time in America, the question of the liberty of the press. The act of the Governor here alluded to was the institution of proceedings against Rip Van Dam to recover half of the salary which the latter had received during his occupation of the Governor's chair. The suit was decided against Van Dam, who was consequently suspended from the exercise of his functions as President of the Council. This unfair decision naturally aroused the indignation of the people, who gave vent to their feelings in squibs and lampoons hurled without mercy at the Governor and his party. These were, in turn, answered by the *New York Gazette*, a paper published by William Bradford in the interest of the Government; and the controversy finally grew so bitter that John Peter Zenger, a printer by trade, was induced, under the patronage, as was supposed, of Rip Van Dam, to start a new paper, the *New York Weekly Journal*—the columns of which were to be devoted to opposing the colonial administration of Governor Cosby. The columns of the new paper teemed

with able and spicy articles assailing the acts of the Governor—written, probably, by William Smith and James Alexander, the two prominent lawyers of New York. The Governor, and those members of his council who were his satellites, were not long in bringing themselves into the belief that these articles were actionable; and thus it happened that the *first great libel suit tried in this city* was instituted by the Government, in 1734, against Zenger.

1734.

The latter, in a pamphlet which he wrote afterward upon his trial, quaintly says: * “As there was but one Printer in the Province of New York that printed a public News Paper, I was in Hopes, if I undertook to publish another, I might make it worth my while, and I soon found that my Hopes were not groundless. My first paper was printed November 15th, 1733, and I continued printing and publishing of them (I thought to the satisfaction of every body) till the January following, when the Chief Justice was pleased to animadvert upon the Doctrine of Libels in a long charge given in that term to the Grand Jury.”

Zenger was thereupon imprisoned on Sunday, the 17th of November, 1734, by virtue of a warrant from the Governor and Council; and a concurrence of the House of Representatives in the prosecution was requested. The House, however, declined by laying the request of the Council upon the table. The Governor and Council then ordered the libelous papers to be burned by the common hangman or whipper, near the pillory. But both the common whipper and the common hangman were officers of the Corporation, not of the Crown, and they declined officiating at the illumination. The papers were therefore

* This pamphlet, which is exceedingly rare, is a large 8vo (5½ x 9½ inches) of 39 pages. It is entitled: *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the New York Weekly Journal*:—New York Printed: Lancaster re-printed, and sold by W. Dunlap, at the New Printing Offices, Queen Street, 1736.

burned by the Sheriff's negro servant at the order of the Governor.* An ineffectual attempt was next made to procure an indictment against Zenger, but the Grand Jury refused to find a bill. The Attorney-General was then directed to file no information against him for printing the libels, and he was consequently kept in prison until another term. His counsel offered exceptions to the commissions of the judges, which the latter not only refused to hear, but excluded his counsel, Messrs. Smith and Alexander, from the bar. Zenger then obtained other counsel—John Chambers of New York, and Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia. The trial at length came on and excited great interest. The truth, under the old English law of libel, could never be given in evidence, and was of course excluded on the present trial. Hamilton, nevertheless, tried the case with consummate ability. He showed the jury that they were the judges as well of the law as the fact, and Zenger was acquitted. "The jury," says Zenger in relating the result of the trial, "withdrew, and in a small time returned, and being asked by the clerk whether they were agreed upon their verdict and whether John

* In the pamphlet before alluded to, Zenger gives the following account of this proceeding:

"At a council held at Fort George in New York the 2d of November, 1734, present, His Excellency William Cosby, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, &c., r. Clark, Mr. Harrison, Dr. Colden" [a note says Dr. Colden was that day at Esopus, ninety miles away], "Mr. Livingston, Mr. Kennedy, the Chief Justice, Mr. Cortlandt, Mr. Lane, Mr. Horsmanden:

"Whereas, By an order of the Board of this day, some of John Peter Zenger's journals, entitled the *New York Weekly Journal*, Nos. 7, 47, 48, 49, were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman or whipper, near the pillory of this city, on Wednesday, the 6th inst., between the hours of eleven and twelve. It is therefore ordered that the Mayor and Magistrates of this city do attend at the burning of the several papers or journals aforesaid, numbered as above-mentioned,

FRED. MORRIS, *D. Cl. Con.*

"To ROBERT LUTING, Esq., *Mayor of the City of New York, &c.*"

(The Aldermen protested vigorously against the execution of this order, and refused to instruct the Sheriff to execute it. The Sheriff burned the papers, however, or "*delivered them into the hands of his own negro, and ordered him to put them into the fire, which he did.*")

Peter Zenger was guilty of printing and publishing the libels in the information mentioned, they answered by Thomas Hunt, their foreman, NOT GUILTY, upon which there were three huzzas in the hall, which was crowded with people, and the next day I was discharged from imprisonment."

Immediately after the trial the Corporation voted the freedom of the city in a magnificent gold box* to Andrew Hamilton, "for the remarkable service done to this city and colony, by his defense of the rights of mankind and the liberty of the press."

Twenty years afterward, however, the Government organ itself fell under the displeasure of the reigning powers. Upon the relinquishment of his paper in 1743, it was resumed by James Parker under the double title of the *New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy*. In 1753, ten years afterward, Parker took a partner by the name of William Wayman. But neither of the partners, nor both of them together, possessed the indomitable spirit of John Peter Zenger. Having in March, 1756, published an article reflecting upon the people of Ulster and Orange counties, the Assembly, entertaining a high regard for the majesty of the people, took offense thereat, and both the editors were taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms. What the precise nature of the insult upon the sovereign people of those counties was, does not appear. But the editors behaved in a craven manner. They acknowledged their fault, begged pardon of the House, and paid the costs of the proceedings, in addition to all which

* This gold box was five ounces and a half in weight and inclosed the seal of the said Freedom. On its lid were engraved the arms of the City of New York and these mottoes: On the outer part of the lid, DEMERSE LEGES—TIMEFACTA LIBERTAS—ILLEC TANDEM EMERGUNT. On the inner side of the lid, NON NUMMIS—VIRTUTE PARATUR. On the front of the rim, ITA CUIQUE EVENIAT UT DE REPUBLICA MERUIT. "Which freedom and box," naively adds Zenger, "was presented in the manner that had been directed, and gratefully accepted by the said Andrew Hamilton, Esquire."

they gave up the name of the author. He proved to be none other than the Rev. Hezekiah Watkins, a missionary to the County of Ulster, residing at Newburg. The reverend gentleman was accordingly arrested, brought to New York, and voted guilty of a high misdemeanor and contempt of the authority of the House. Of what persuasion was this Mr. Watkins does not appear. But neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor Hugh Latimer would have betrayed the right of free discussion as he did by begging the pardon of the House, standing to receive a reprimand, paying the fees, and promising to be more circumspect in future—for the purpose of obtaining his discharge. This case affords the most singular instance of the exercise of the doubtful power of punishing for what are called contempts on record. A court has unquestionably a right to protect itself from indignity while in session, and so has a legislative body, although the power of punishing for such an offense without trial by jury is now gravely questioned. But for a legislative body to extend the mantle of its protection over its constituency in such a matter is an exercise of power of which, even in the annals of the Star Chamber, when presided over by Archbishop Laud, it is difficult to find a parallel. Sure it is that a people, then or now, who would elect such members to the Legislature deserve nothing else than contempt. From the establishment, however, of the independence of the country until the present day there has been no attempt to fetter the press by censors or by law; while the old English law of libel, which prevailed until the beginning of the present century, has been so modified as to allow the truth in all cases to be given in evidence. For the attainment of this great end the country is indebted, more than to all other men, to the early and bosom friend of the late venerable Dr. Nott—Alexander Hamilton.

At length the incessant quarrels of the weak and avaricious Cosby with the people and their representatives was suddenly terminated by his death in 1736. March, 1736. On his decease, Mr. George Clarke, long a member of the Council, after a brief struggle with Mr. Van Dam for the presidency, succeeded to the direction of the government, and, being shortly afterward commissioned as Lieutenant-Governor, continued at the head of the colonial administration from the autumn of 1736 to that of 1743. Mr. Clarke was remotely 1743. connected by marriage with the family of Lord Clarendon, having been sent over as Secretary of the colony in the reign of Queen Anne. Being, moreover, a man of strong common sense and of uncommon tact, and, by reason of his long residence in the colony and the several official stations he had held, well acquainted with its affairs, his administration—certainly until toward its close—was comparatively popular, and, all circumstances considered, eminently successful. In the brief struggle for power between himself and Mr. Van Dam, the latter had been sustained by the popular party, while the officers of the Crown and the partisans of Cosby, with few, if any, exceptions, adhered to Mr. Clarke. This difficulty, however, had been speedily ended by a royal confirmation of the somewhat doubtful authority assumed by Mr. Clarke. His own course, moreover, on taking the seals of office, was conciliatory. In his first speech to the General Assembly, he referred in temperate language to the unhappy divisions which had of late disturbed the colony, and which he thought it was then a favorable moment to heal. The English flour-market having been overstocked by large supplies furnished from the other colonies, the attention of the Assembly was directed to the expediency of encouraging domestic manufactures in various departments of industry. To the

Indian affairs of the colony Mr. Clarke invited the special attention of the Assembly. The military works of Fort Hunter being in a dilapidated condition, and the object of affording protection to the Christian settlements through the Mohawk Valley having been accomplished, the Lieutenant-Governor suggested the erection of a new fort at the carrying-place between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek* leading into the Oncida Lake, and thence through the Oswego River into Lake Ontario; and the transfer of the garrison from Fort Hunter to this new and commanding position. He likewise recommended the repairing of the block-house at Oswego, and the sending of smiths and other artificers into the Indian country, especially among the Senecas.†

During the greater part of the year 1738—if we except the establishing of a quarantine on Bedloe's Island and the opening of Rector Street—but little attention was paid to local affairs, the principal 1738. historical incident of that year being the memorable con-

* The site, afterward, of Fort Stanwix, now the opulent town of Rome.

† In the course of this Session of the General Assembly, Chief Justice De Lancey, Speaker of the Legislative Council, announced that his duties in the Supreme Court would render it impossible for him to act as Speaker through the session. It was therefore ordered that the oldest Councilor present should thenceforward act as Speaker. Under this order, Dr. Colden first came to the chair.

On the 26th of October, the Council resolved that they would hold their sittings in the Common Council chamber of the City Hall. The House immediately returned a message that they were holding their sessions, and should continue to hold them, in that chamber; and that it was conformable to the constitution that the Council, in its legislative capacity, should sit as a distinct and separate body. During the same session, also, the Council having sent a message to the House by the hand of a deputy-clerk, a message was transmitted back, signifying that the House considered such a course disrespectful. Until that time messages had been conveyed between the Houses, with bills, resolutions, &c., by the hands of their members respectively. The House considered the sending of a clerk an innovation upon their privileges; and Colonel Phillipse, Mr. Verplank, and Mr. Johnson were appointed a committee to wait upon the Council and demand satisfaction. The Council healed the matter by a conciliatory resolution, declaring that no disrespect had been intended.

tested election between Adolphe Phillipse and Gerrit Van Horne, in connection with which, owing to the extraordinary skill and eloquence of Mr. Smith, father of the historian and counsel for Van Horne, the Hebrew freeholders of the City of New York, from which place both parties claimed to have been returned to the Assembly, were most unjustly disfranchised, on the ground of their religious creed, and their votes rejected. The colony was greatly excited by this question, and the persuasive powers exerted by Mr. Smith are represented to have been wonderful—equaling, probably, if not surpassing, those of Andrew Hamilton, four years previously, in the great libel case of Zenger—and possibly not excelled even by Patrick Henry a few years afterward, when he dethroned the reason of the court, and led captive the jury, in the great tobacco case in Virginia.

CHAPTER III.

THE years 1738 and 1739, were marked by increasing political excitement; and the dividing line of parties, involving the great principles of civil liberty on the 1738. one side and the prerogatives of the Crown on the 1739. other, were more distinctly drawn, perhaps, than at any antecedent period. The administrations of the earlier English Governors, Nicholls and Lovelace, were benevolent and almost parental. Andros, it is true, was a tyrant; and during his administration parties were formed, as in England, upon the mixed questions of politics and religion, which dethroned the last and most bigoted of the Stuarts, and brought William and Mary upon the throne. Dongan, however, the last of the Stuart Governors in New York, although a Roman Catholic, was nevertheless mild in the administration of the government, and a gentleman in his feelings and manners. It was upon his arrival, in the autumn of 1683, that the freeholders of the colony, as we have seen, were invested with the right of choosing representatives to meet the Governor in General Assembly. For nearly twenty years subsequent to the revolution of 1689, the colony was torn by personal, rather than political, factions, having their origin in the controversy which compassed the judicial murder of the unhappy Leisler and his son-in-law, Milburn. These factions dying out in the lapse of years, other questions arose, the principal of which

was that important one which always, sooner or later, springs up in every English colony—involving, on the one hand, as I have already remarked, the rights of the people, and on the other the claims of the Crown. Invariably, almost, if not quite, the struggle is originated upon some questions of revenue—either in the levying thereof, or in its disposition, or both. Thus in the origin of those political parties in New York, which continued with greater or less acrimony until the separation from the parent country, Sloughter and Fletcher had both endeavored to obtain grants of revenue to the Crown for life, but had failed. Subsequently, grants had been occasionally made to the officers of the Crown for a term of years; but latterly, especially during the administration of Governor Cosby, the General Assembly had grown more refractory upon the subject—pertinaciously insisting that they would vote the salaries for the officers of the Crown only with the annual supplies. This was a principle which the Governors, as the representatives of the Crown, felt bound to resist, as being an infringement of the royal prerogative. Henceforward, therefore, until the colony cast off its allegiance, the struggle in regard to the revenue and its disposition was almost perpetually before the people, in one form or another; and in some years, owing to the obstinacy of the representatives of the Crown on one side, and the inflexibility of the representatives of the people on the other, supplies were not granted at all. Mr. Clarke, although he had the address to throw off, or to evade, the difficulty, for the space of two years, was nevertheless doomed soon to encounter it. Accordingly, in his speech to the Assembly at the autumnal session of 1738, he complained that another year had elapsed without any provision being made for the support of his Majesty's government in the province—the neglect having occurred by reason of “a practice not warranted by the usage of

any former General Assemblies." He therefore insisted strongly upon the adoption of measures for the payment of salaries, for the payment of public creditors, and for the general security of the public credit by the creation of a sinking-fund for the redemption of the bills of the colony.

The Assembly was refractory. Instead of complying with the demands of the Lieutenant-Governor, the House resolved unanimously that they would grant no supplies upon that principle; and in regard to a sinking-fund for the redemption of the bills of credit afloat, they refused any other measure than a continuance of the existing excise. These spirited and peremptory resolutions gave high offense to the representative of the Crown; and on the day following their adoption, the Assembly was summoned to the fort, and dissolved by a speech, declaring the said resolutions "to be such presumptuous, daring, and unprecedented steps that he could not look upon them but with astonishment, nor could he with honor suffer their authors to sit any longer."

The temper of the new Assembly, summoned in the spring of the succeeding year, 1739, was no more in unison with the desires of the Lieutenant-Governor than that of the former. The demand for a permanent supply-bill was urged at several successive sessions, only to be met with obstinate refusals. The second session, held in the autumn, was interrupted in October by a prorogation of several days, for the express purpose of affording the members leisure "to reflect seriously" upon the line of duty required of them by the exigencies of the country; for, not only was the Assembly resolutely persisting in the determination to make only annual grants of supplies, but they were preparing to trench yet further upon the royal prerogative by insisting upon specific applications of the revenue, to be inserted in the bill itself. Meantime, on the 13th of October, the Lieutenant-Governor brought the

subject of his differences with the Assembly formally before his privy council. In regard to the new popular movement of this Assembly, insisting upon a particular application of the revenues to be granted in the body of the act for the support of the Government, the Lieutenant-Governor said they had been moved to that determination by the example of New Jersey, where an act of that nature had lately been passed. He was unwilling to allow any encroachment upon the rights of the Crown. Yet, in consideration of the defenseless situation of the colony, he felt uneasy at such a turn of affairs, and not being disposed to revive old animosities, or to create new ones by another summary dissolution, he asked the advice of the council. The subject was referred to a committee, of which the Hon. Daniel Horsmanden, an old member of the council, was chairman. This gentleman was one of the most sturdy supporters of the royal prerogative; but, in consequence of the existing posture of affairs, and the necessity of a speedy provision for the public safety, the committee reported unanimously against a dissolution. They believed, also, that the Assembly, and the people whom they represented, had the disputed point so much at heart that it would be impossible to do business with them unless it was conceded; and, besides, it was argued, should a dissolution take place, there was no reason for supposing that the next Assembly would be less tenacious in asserting the offensive principle. Since, moreover, the Governor of New Jersey had yielded the point, the committee advised the same course in New York.* The point *was* conceded:

* See the old minutes of the executive or privy council, in manuscript, in the Secretary-of-State's office in Albany. To avoid confusion hereafter, it may be well to state, in this connection, that the council acted in a twofold capacity: first, as advisory; second, as legislative. "In the first," says Smith, in his chapter entitled Political State, "they are a privy council to the Governor." When thus acting they are often called the executive or majesty's council. Hence, privy council and executive council are synonymous. During the ses-

and the effect, for the moment, was to produce a better state of feeling in the Assembly. Supplies were granted, but only for the year; and various appropriations were made for placing the city and colony in a posture of defense.

But it is seldom that the wheels of revolution roll backward, and the concession which allowed the General Assembly to prescribe the application or disposition of the supplies they voted, ever before claimed as the legal and known prerogative of the Crown, appeased the popular party only for a very short time. Indeed, nothing is more certain, whether in monarchies or republics, than that the governed are never satisfied with concessions, while each successful demand only increases the popular clamor for more. Thus it was in the experience of Mr. Clarke. It is true, indeed, that the year 1740 passed without any direct collision upon the question of prerogative; although at the second short session of that year, the speech alleged the entire exhaustion of the revenue, and again demanded an ample appropriation for a term of years. But the controversy was re-opened at the spring session of the following year—1741—on which occasion the Lieutenant-Governor delivered a speech, long beyond precedent, and enumerating the grievances of the Crown by reason of the continued encroachments of the General Assembly. The speech began by an elaborate review of the origin and progress of the difficulties that had existed between the representatives of the Crown and the Assembly, in respect to the granting of supplies, evincing—such, indeed, is the inference

sion of the legislature, however, *the same council* sat (without the presence of the Governor) as a legislative council; and in such capacity exercised the same functions as the Senate of the present day—so far as regards the passing of laws. The journals of this last or legislative council have recently been published by the State of New York under admirable editorship and the supervision of Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan.

—a want of gratitude on the part of the latter, in view of the blessings which the colony had enjoyed under the paternal care of the Government since the revolution of 1688. But it was not in connection with the supplies only that the Assembly had invaded the rights of the Crown. It was the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to appoint the Treasurer. Yet the Assembly had demanded the election of that officer. Not satisfied with that concession, they had next claimed the right of choosing the Auditor-General. Failing in that demand, they had sought to accomplish their object by withholding the salary from that officer. These encroachments, he said, had been gradually increasing from year to year, until apprehensions had been seriously awakened in England “that the plantations are not without thoughts of throwing off their dependence on the Crown.” He, therefore, admonished the Assembly to do away with such an impression “by giving to his Majesty such a revenue, and in such a manner, as will enable him to pay his own officers and servants,” as had been done from the Revolution down to the year 1709—during which period the colony was far less able to bear the burden than now.*

Thus early and deeply were those principles striking root in America which John Hampden had asserted and poured out his blood to defend in the great ship-money contest with Charles I—which brought that unhappy monarch to the block, and which, fulfilling the apprehensions of Mr. Clarke, thirty-five years afterward, separated the colonies from the British Crown—although in the answer of the House to the “insinuation of a suspicion” of a desire for independence, with real or affected

* Vide *Journals of the Colonial Assembly*, vol. 1, Hugh Gain's edition. This (1741) was the year in which the chapel, barracks, Secretary's office, &c, at Fort George (the Battery) were burned, and the speech referred to in the text asked an appropriation for their rebuilding—but without success.

gravity, they "vouched that not a single person in the colony had any such thoughts;" adding, "for under what government can we be better protected, or our liberties or properties so well secured?"

But the popularity of Mr. Clarke was rapidly on the wane. Chief-Justice De Lancey, the master-spirit of the council, having rather abandoned him, and attached himself to the popular party, managed to preserve a considerate coolness on the part of that body toward their executive head, while the house heeded but little his recommendations.

The only object of local excitement, however, during the year 1741, was the celebrated plot (supposed to have been discovered), on the part of the negroes, to murder the inhabitants of New York, and ravage and burn the city—an affair which reflects little credit either upon the discernment or the humanity of that generation.

African slavery had existed from an early period in New Netherland. It was encouraged as the most certain and economical way of introducing slavery in a new country, where there was no surplus population. The slave-trade was brought into the Dutch colony by the Dutch West India Company, and, shortly after its introduction, became a considerable and profitable branch of its shipping interest. A "prime slave" was valued from one hundred and twenty dollars to one hundred and fifty dollars, and below this price he could not profitably be purchased from Africa or the West Indies. In 1702, there were imported one hundred and sixty-five African slaves; in 1718 five hundred and seventeen. After that year, however, the traffic began to fall off, the natural increase being large.*

* Almost every family in the colony owned one or more negro servants; and among the richer classes their number was considered a certain evidence of their master's easy circumstances. About the year 1703—a period of pros-

As far back as 1628, slaves constituted a portion of the population of New Amsterdam; and to such an extent had the traffic in them reached that, in 1709, a slave-market was erected at the foot of Wall Street, where all negroes who were to be hired or sold, stood in readiness for bidders. Their introduction into the colony was hastened by the colonial establishment of the Dutch in Brazil and upon the coast of Guinea, and also by the capture of Spanish and Portuguese prizes with Africans on board. The *boere-knechts*, or servants, whom the settlers brought over with them from Holland, soon deserted their field-work for the fur traffic, thus causing European laborers to become scarce and high; and, as a natural result, slaves, by their cheapness, became one of the staples of the new country. In 1652, the Directors at Amsterdam removed the export duty of eight per cent., which had been hitherto paid by the colonists on tobacco. The passage-money to New Netherland was also lessened from fifty to thirty guilders; and, besides trading to the Brazils, the settlers were allowed "to sail to the coast of Angola and Africa to procure as many negroes as they might be willing to employ."*

Several outbreaks had already happened among the negroes of New Amsterdam; and the whites lived in constant anticipation of trouble and danger from them. Rumors of an intended insurrection, real or imaginary, would circulate (as in the negro plot of 1712) and the

perity in wealth and social refinement with the Dutch of New Amsterdam—the widow Van Cortlandt held five male slaves, two female, and two children; Colonel De Peyster had the same number; William Beekman, two; Rip Van Dam, six; Mrs. Stuyvesant, five; Mrs. Kip, seven; David Provoost, three, &c.

* In the year 1755 a census of slaves was taken in all the colonies except Albany, New York, and Suffolk—Borough numbered 91; Manor of Polham, 24; Westchester, 73; Bushwick, 43; Flatbush, 35; New Utrecht, 67; Newtown, 87; Oyster-Bay, 97, &c., &c.

whole city be thrown into a state of alarm. Whether there was any real danger on these occasions cannot be known, but the result was always the same, viz.: the slaves always suffered, many dying by the fagot or the gallows.

The "Negro Plot" of 1741, however, forms a serious and bloody chapter in the history of New York. At this distance of time it is hard to discover the truth amid the fears and prejudices which attended that public calamity. The city then contained some ten thousand inhabitants, about one-fifth of whom were African slaves, called the "black seed of Cain." Many of the laws for their government were most unjust and oppressive. Whenever three of them were found together they were liable to be punished by forty lashes on the bare back, and the same penalty followed their walking with a club outside of their master's grounds without a permit. Two justices could inflict any punishment, except amputation or death, for any blow or assault by a slave upon a Christian or a Jew. Such was the outrageous law. New York swarmed with negroes, and her leading merchants were engaged in the slave-trade, at that time regarded fair and honorable. New York then resembled a Southern city, with its calaboose on the Park Commons and its slave-market at the foot of Wall Street.

The burning of the public buildings, comprising the Governor's residence, the Secretary's office, the chapel, and barracks, in March, 1741, was first announced to the General Assembly by the Lieutenant-Governor as the result of an accident—a plumber who had been engaged upon some repairs having left fire in a gutter between the house and chapel. But several other fires occurring shortly afterward in different parts of the city, some of them, perhaps, under circumstances that could not readily be explained, suspicions were awakened that the whole were acts of

incendiaries. Not a chimney caught fire—and chimneys were not at that day very well swept—but the incident was attributed to design. Such was the case in respect to the chimney of Captain Warren's house, situated near the ruins of the public buildings, by the taking fire of which the roof was partially destroyed; and other instances might be enumerated. Suspicion, to borrow the language of Shakespeare, "hath a ready tongue," and is "all stuck full of eyes," which are not easily put to sleep. Incidents and circumstances, ordinary and extraordinary, were seized upon and brought together by comparison, until it became obvious to all that there was actually a conspiracy for compassing such a stupendous act of arson as the burning of the entire town and murder of the people. Nor was it long before the plot was fastened upon the negro slaves, then forming no inconsiderable portion of the population. A negro, with violent gesticulation, had been heard to utter some terms of unintelligible jargon, in which the words "fire, fire, scorch, scorch," were heard articulated, or supposed to have been heard. The crew of a Spanish ship brought into the port as a prize were sold into slavery. They were suspected of disaffection—as well they might be, and yet be innocent—seized, and thrown into prison. Coals were found arranged, as had been supposed, for burning a hay-stack; a negro was seen jumping over a fence and flying from a house that had taken fire in another place; and, in a word, a vast variety of incidents, trifling and unimportant, were collated and talked over until universal consternation seized upon the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest. As Hume remarks of the Popish plot in the reign of Charles II, "each breath of rumor made the people start with anxiety; their enemies, they thought, were in their bosoms. They were awakened from their slumbers by the cry of *Plot*, and, like men affrighted and in the dark.

took every figure for a specter. The terror of each man became a source of terror to another, and a universal panic being diffused, reason, and argument, and common sense, and common humanity, lost all influence over them."* A Titus Oates was found in the person of a poor, weak, servant-girl in a sailors' boarding-house, named Mary Burton, who, after much importunity, confessed that she heard certain negroes, in the preceding February, conferring in private, for the purpose of setting the town on fire. She at first confined the conspirators to blacks, but afterward several white persons were included, among whom were her landlord, whose name was Hughson, his wife, and another maid-servant, and a Roman Catholic, named Ury. Some other information was obtained from other informers, and numerous arrests were made, and the several strong apartments in the City Hall, called "the jails," were crowded with prisoners, amounting in number to twenty-six whites and above one hundred and sixty slaves. Numerous executions took place upon the most frivolous and unsatisfactory testimony, but jurors and magistrates were alike panic stricken and wild with terror. Among the sufferers were Hughson, his wife, and the maid-servant, as also the Romanist Ury, who was capitally accused, not only as a conspirator, but for officiating as a priest, upon an old law of the colony, heretofore mentioned as having been passed at the instance of Governor Bellamont, to drive the French missionaries from among the Indians. "The whole summer was spent in the prosecutions; every new trial led to further accusations; a coincidence of slight circumstances was magnified by the general terror into violent presumptions; tales collected without doors, min-

* Quoted by Dunlap, who has given a good collection of facts respecting this remarkable plot, though not rendered into a well-digested narrative. See chap. xxi of his *History*.

gling with the proofs given at the bar, poisoned the minds of the jurors, and this sanguinary spirit of the day suffered no check until Mary, the capital informer, bewildered by frequent examinations and suggestions, began to touch characters which malice itself dare not suspect." Then, as in the case of the Popish plot and the prosecutions for witchcraft in Salem, the magistrates and jurors began to pause. But not until many had been sent to their final account by the spirit of fanaticism which had bereft men of their reason as innocent of the charges laid against them as the convicting courts and jurors themselves. Thirteen negroes were burned at the stake, eighteen were hanged, and seventy transported.*

The year 1742, if for no other reason, is memorable in the annals of the city from the fact that in that year was built the house now standing on the site of No. 1
1742. Broadway, and known as the "Washington Hotel," and the oldest house in the city. Previous to this year (1742) the site was occupied by an old tavern kept by a Mrs. Kocks, built the century previous by her husband. Pieter Kocks, an officer in the Dutch service and an active leader in the Indian war of 1693. The late Mr. David T. Valentine—to whom New York is indebted more than

* Daniel Horsmanden, the third Justice of the Supreme Court, published the history of this strange affair in a ponderous quarto. He was concerned in the administration of the judicial proceedings, however, and wrote his history before the delusion had passed away. Chief-Justice De Lancey presided at least at some of the trials, and he, too, though an able and clear-minded man, was carried away by the delusion. James De Lancey was the son of Stephen De Lancey, a French Huguenot gentleman from Caen, in Normandy, who fled from persecution in France. Settling in New York in 1686, he married a daughter of M. Van Cortlandt, and was thus connected with one of the most opulent families in the province. He was also an active member of the House of Assembly during the administration of Governor Hunter. His son James was sent to Cambridge University (England), for his education, and bred to the profession of the law. On being elevated to the bench, such were his talents and application, he became a very profound lawyer.—*Smith.*

to any other man for the preservation of its local history, and for which she can never be sufficiently grateful—usually remarkably accurate, states that the building No. 1 Broadway was built by Archibald Kennedy (afterward Earl of Cassilis), then Collector of the Port of New York. This, however, is an error. It was built by Sir Peter, afterward Admiral, Warren,* K. C. B.—whose name is so identified with the naval glory of England—during his



NO. 1 BROADWAY FIFTY YEARS AGO.

residence in New York city. Neither pains nor expense were spared to make it one of the finest mansions in this country. The plans were all sent out from Lisbon—the exterior and interior being similar in every respect to that of the British ambassador's residing at the Portuguese cap-

* After whom Warren Street is named.

ital. The house was fifty-six feet on Broadway, and when erected the rear of the lot was bounded by the North River. Greenwich Street was not then opened or built—the North River washing the shore. One room of this edifice deserves particular notice, being the banqueting-room, twenty-six by forty, and used on all great occasions. After the British forces captured New York, in the war of the American Revolution, as the most prominent house, it was the headquarters of the distinguished British commanders. Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir Guy Carlton, afterward Lord Dorchester, all in succession occupied this house; and it is a memorable fact that the celebrated Major André, then Adjutant-General of the British forces, and aid to Sir Henry Clinton, resided in this house, being in the family of Sir Henry, and departed from its portals never to return, when he went up the North River and arranged his treasonable project with the traitor Arnold at West Point.*

* This building is also known to historians as the "Kennedy House."

CHAPTER IV.

THE administration of Lieutenant-Governor Clarke was ended in the autumn of 1743, by the arrival of Admiral George Clinton, uncle of the Earl of Lincoln, and a younger son of the late Earl, who had been ^{1743.} appointed to the government of New York through the interest of his friends, to afford him an opportunity of mending his fortunes. Mr. Clarke, who, in the commencement of his administration, had succeeded in conciliating the leaders of both political parties, had contrived before the close of his career to lose the confidence of both, so that his retirement from the Government was regarded with universal satisfaction.* Especially had he incurred

* George Clarke, Esq., who, in various official stations, was for almost half a century connected with the colonial government of New York, was an Englishman by birth. "His uncle, Mr. Blaithwait, procured the secretaryship of the colony for him early in the reign of Queen Anne. He had genius, but no other than a common, writing-school education; nor did he add to his stock by reading, for he was more intent upon improving his fortune than his mind. He was sensible, artful, active, cautious; had a perfect command of his temper, and was in his address specious and civil. Nor was any man better acquainted with the colony and its affairs." He successively held the offices of Secretary, Clerk of the Council, Councilor, and Lieutenant-Governor; and from his official position he had every opportunity of enriching himself by obtaining grants and patents of land, which, from his knowledge of the colony, he was enabled to choose in the most advantageous locations. He was a courtier, and was careful never to differ with the governors of the colony; although during Cosby's stormy career he usually kept himself quiet at his country villa upon the edge of Hempstead plains. "His lady was a Hyde, a woman of fine accomplishments,

the resentment of the Chief-Justice, De Lancey; who, strangely enough, though usually a staunch supporter of the prerogatives of the Crown, had now become, to some extent, a favorite of the General Assembly. The new Governor had spent most of his life in the navy; and, according to the earliest English historian of New York, "preferring ease and good cheer to the restless activity of ambition, there wanted nothing to engage the interest of his powerful patrons in his favor more than to humor a simple-hearted man, who had no ill-nature, nor sought anything more than a genteel frugality and common civility while he was mending those fortunes, until his friends at court could recall him to some indolent and more lucrative station."

Mr. Clinton arrived in New York on the 22d of September, and was received with demonstrations of universal satisfaction by the people. Finding that the General Assembly stood adjourned to meet in a few days, and ascertaining that the people would be pleased with an opportunity of holding a new election, the Assembly was dissolved on the 27th, and writs for the return of another Assembly issued the same day. The elections were conducted without political acrimony, and all the old members, with but seven exceptions, were returned.

and a distant relation of that branch of the Clarendon family. She died in New York. Mr. Clarke returned to England in 1745, with acquisitions estimated at one hundred thousand pounds. He purchased an estate in Cheshire, where he died about the year 1761. George Clarke, his grandson and the heir to his estates, after a residence in America of about thirty-five years, died at Otsego about the year 1835. His eldest son, George Hyde Clarke, with his young wife, was lost in the ship Albion, wrecked on the coast of Ireland in the summer of 1820, on his passage from New York to England. His second son then returned to England and entered into possession of the fortune of his father's estates situated in that country. By the vast increase in price of his American lands, Mr. Clarke's estates in this country became of princely value before his death. They are inherited by his youngest son, George Clarke, Esq., who at present resides in the noble mansion erected by his father a few years before his decease, upon the margin of Otsego Lake."

The session opened on the 8th of November. Meantime, the Governor had fallen into the hands of De Lancey, who doubtless had the molding of his excellency's speech. Its tone was conciliatory, although the sore subject of a permanent revenue was opened afresh. But this was done in gentle terms, the Governor asking for a grant "in as ample a manner, and for a time as long, as had been given under any of his predecessors." The Assembly was informed that, owing to the critical state of affairs in Europe, and the doubtful attitude in which Great Britain and France stood toward each other, a large supply of military stores for the defense of the colony had been received from the parent government; and the Governor hoped the Assembly would show their thankfulness by making an adequate provision for the purchase of others. The usual recommendations in regard to the Indian intercourse of the colony were renewed, and an appropriation was asked for rebuilding the barracks and public offices, together with the house of the Governor, which had been destroyed by fire. The latter recommendation was insisted on as being necessary for the comfort of the Governor's family.

"An humble address" was voted by the council in reply, drawn up by De Lancey. The appointment of the new Governor was received "as an additional evidence of his majesty's affection for his people, and his zeal for the liberty of mankind, lately most evidently demonstrated in his exposing his sacred person to the greatest dangers in defense of the liberty of Europe." In all other respects the answer was an echo of the speech. The address of the House was more than an echo; it was couched in language of excessive flattery to the new Governor, and of fawning adulation toward the sovereign, who was designated "the darling of his own people, and the glorious preserver of the liberties of Europe." There was, how-

ever, a disposition on all sides to be pleased. The Assembly responded to the demanded appropriations, voting the Governor fifteen hundred pounds for his salary, one hundred pounds for house-rent, four hundred pounds for fuel and candles, one hundred and fifty pounds to enable him to visit the Indians, and eight hundred pounds for the purchase of presents to be distributed amongst them. Other appropriations were made upon a scale of corresponding liberality; and the Governor was so well pleased with the good temper of the Assembly, that he signed every bill presented for his approbation without a murmur of disapprobation, not even excepting the supply-bill, which, notwithstanding his demand to the contrary, in the opening speech, was limited to the year.

But, notwithstanding these reciprocal manifestations of good feeling, and notwithstanding, also, the amiable traits of the Governor's natural disposition, it will be seen, in the progress of events, that the bluff characteristics of the sailor were not always to be concealed; and his administration, in process of time, became as tempestuous as the element upon which he was certainly more at home than upon the land.

Advices of the intended invasion of his majesty's dominions, in behalf of a "Popish Pretender," were communicated to the General Assembly of New York
1744. by Governor Clinton, in April, 1744. In connection with this anticipated act of hostility, which would of course extend to the contiguous colonies of the two countries, efficient measures were urged for placing the country in a posture of defense. The temper of the colony, in regard to this movement of France, may be inferred from the immediate action of the Assembly. In the council, Chief-Justice De Lancey, in moving an address of thanks for the speech, offered also a resolution expressive of the abhorrence of that body of the designs of France in favor

of the Pretender, and declaring that the civil and religious rights of his majesty's subjects depended on the Protestant succession. The House was invited to join in the address, which request, though a very unusual procedure, was readily acquiesced in, and the address was prepared by a joint committee of the two houses. From all this it was evident that a war was very near at hand, and that the frontiers of the colony might again, very soon, be subjected to the ravages of a foe than whose tender mercies nothing could be more cruel.

In 1746, the small-pox drove the Assembly from the city to Greenwich; but soon appearing there also, produced a panic that for several days entirely arrested the course of business. The Assembly ^{1746.} prayed for a recess from the 9th of March to the 12th of April, and also for leave to adjourn their sittings to some other place. Jamaica and Brooklyn were suggested; but in the opinion of the Governor the demands of the public service forbade so long an interregnum, and he therefore directed their adjournment for a week, to meet in the borough of Westchester. They convened there accordingly; but the inconvenience of the locality was such that the members begged permission to adjourn even back to the infected city again, rather than remain where they were. In the end the Governor directed them to transfer their sittings to Brooklyn, at which place the transaction of business was resumed on the 20th of March, when an address to the Governor was ordered to be prepared in answer to that of the council, respecting the rejection of the before-mentioned revenue bill.

Before the introduction of the bill, the Assembly had inquired of the Governor whether he had any objection to an emission of paper money to meet the exigencies of the country; to which question the proper answer was given by Mr. Clinton, that "when the bill came to him

he would declare his opinion." The bill was therefore introduced and passed by the Assembly; but the council, disapproving of certain of its provisions, requested a conference. The Assembly, however, declared that, inasmuch as it was a money bill, they would consent to no such course upon the subject. The council thereupon summarily rejected the bill, and sent up an address to the Governor, written by the Chief-Justice, De Lancey, setting forth the reasons by which its course had been governed. One of the objections to the bill, according to this representation, was found in the fact, "that the money proposed to be raised by the bill was not granted to his majesty, or to be issued by warrants in council, as it ought to have been, and as has usually been done." This objection involved the whole question of the royal prerogative—nothing more. On the subject of the right claimed by the Assembly of exclusive power over the details of money bills, the address asserted "the equal rights of the council to exercise their judgments upon these bills." Various other objections of detail were suggested; but the two points specified above were the only grounds of principle upon which the council relied in justification of its course. Yet the unreasonableness of the assumption of the House, that the council should not be allowed even to point out and rectify the defects of any thing which they chose to call a money bill, was argued at considerable length.

There was yet another cause of irritation on the part of the House. So early as the year 1709, the General Assembly had found it necessary, in providing ways and means for the public service—especially in the prosecution of the several wars in which the colony had been involved by the Parent Government—to issue a paper currency, called bills of credit. The operation had been repeated, from time to time, in emergent cases—some-

times with the approbation of the Crown, and sometimes not—until these paper issues had become a part of the policy of the colony. Others of the colonies, laboring under the same necessities, had resorted to the same measures of finance; but to which the Crown, jealous of its prerogative in all matters of currency, had uniformly been opposed. For many years, therefore, antecedent to this period, the royal governors had arrived in the colony clothed with instructions against allowing further emissions of bills of credit—instructions, however, which the stern law of necessity had seldom allowed them to enforce. Still, the Crown, keenly alive to every step of independent action on the part of the colonies, was persisting in its war against a colonial currency even of paper; and a bill was now before Parliament, upon the subject, which gave great alarm to the people. Professedly, its design was merely for preventing these bills of credit from being made a legal tender; but it was discovered that the bill was to have a far more extensive operation—"obliging and enjoining the legislatures of every colony to pay strict obedience to all such orders and instructions as might from time to time be transmitted to them, or any of them, by his majesty or his successors, or by or under his or their authority." Such an act, it was justly held, "would establish an absolute power in the Crown, in all the British plantations, that would be inconsistent with the liberties and privileges inherent in an *English* man, while he is in a *British* dominion.

Incensed at this stubbornness on the part of his little Parliament, the sailor-Governor determined, in the Assembly, which met on the 12th of October, 1748, to re-assert the prerogative in the strongest terms by bringing the subject of a permanent supply to a direct issue; choosing, as Mr. Bancroft has remarked, NEW YORK "as the opening scene in the final contest that led

1748.

to independence." Accordingly, on the 14th he sent down his message to the House, in which he demanded a permanent support for five years. The message stated that on coming to the administration of the Government, he had been disposed to do all he could, consistently with his duty to the king, for the care and satisfaction of the people. Hence, reposing confidence in the advice then given him, he had given his assent to various acts of the Assembly, the tendency of which, as experience had taught him, was to weaken the authority of his majesty's Government. Still, as the country was very soon afterward involved in war, he had forborne to take that attitude in the premises which duty to his sovereign seemed to require. But with the return of peace, he deemed it to be his indispensable duty to put a stop to such innovations. Prominent among these was the practice which had been growing up of making only *an annual* provision for the payment of the officers of the Government. He also alluded to the modern practice of naming the officers for whose benefit the appropriations were made in the act, thus interfering with the prerogative in the appointing honor. He admonished the Assembly that he should give his assent to no acts of that character for the future; and demanded an appropriation for the payment of the Governor's secretaries, judges, and other salaried officers, for the term of five years, according to the practice that had prevailed during the administration of his four immediate predecessors—namely, Governors Hunter, Burnet, Montgomery, and Cosby. The inconvenience of these annual grants of salaries and allowances was adverted to, and objections further urged against the recent method of intermixing matters of an entirely different nature with the provisions of the salary-bills, and tacking new grants for other purposes to the Governor's own support.

The Assembly, in its reply, justly regarding the re-

quest for a permanent supply as a direct attempt to render the Crown independent of the people, with great indignation refused to grant it. As to the more recent practice of naming the officers provided for in the salary-bills, it not only justified it, but intimated that if this course had been adopted at an earlier day, his excellency would not have been able to remove the third Justice of the Supreme Court "without any color of misconduct" on his part—who was "a gentleman of learning and experience in the law."* The result can readily be seen. After continual bickerings for several weeks, Mr. Clinton, in great wrath, prorogued the Assembly.

Thus the parties separated, and thus again commenced that great struggle between the Republican and the Monarchical principle which, in the onward progress of the former, was destined at a day not even then far distant to work such mighty results in the Western Hemisphere.

Although, from a very early date in the history of this protracted controversy, it became inexcusably personal, yet it is not difficult to perceive that it was in reality one of principle. On the one hand, the infant Hercules, though still in his cradle, was becoming impatient of restraint. The yoke of colonial servitude chafed the necks, if not of the people, at least of their representatives. The royal Governor was not slow to perceive what kind of leaven was fermenting the body politic; and hence he became perhaps overjealous in asserting and defending the prerogatives of his master. Doubtless, in the progress of the quarrel, there were faults on both sides. Of an irascible and overbearing temperament, and accustomed in his profession to command rather than to persuade, he was ill-qualified to exercise a limited or

* Alluding to the removal, the year before, of Justice Horsmanden. This act was again imputed to the influence of "a person of a mean and despicable character"—meaning, as it was well understood, Dr. Colden.

concurrent power with a popular Assembly equally jealous of its own privileges and of the liberties of the people—watching with sleepless vigilance for every opportunity to circumscribe the influence of the Crown, and ready at every moment to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power. Still, however patriotic the motives, under the promptings of De Lancey, their opposition to Mr. Clinton became factious; and it is not difficult even for a republican to believe that he was treated, not only with harshness, but with great injustice, especially in regard to his measures, and his personal exertions for the public defense and the prosecution of the Indian war.

At length, worn out in health and spirits by his struggle against a powerful opposition, Clinton, in 1753, 1753. sent in his resignation to the Home Government, and Sir Danvers Osborne was appointed in his stead.

The character of Mr. Clinton has not, I think, been fairly drawn. Those upon whose opinions his character rests were persons living at the same day, and who, influenced by party strife, were not in a position to judge impartially. He was an uncouth and unlettered admiral, who had been, through the Newcastle interest, appointed to the chair of Governor. He was evidently unsuited to his position; and his former profession, in which he had always been accustomed to command, ill fitted him to brave the rebuffs and the opposition of party faction. His manner, too, was not such as to win friends. Having to depend entirely upon the advice of those around him, he was often the dupe of those better versed in the arts of diplomacy than himself. But I look in vain for that love of ease, to the neglect of his official duties, of which he is accused by his enemies. On the contrary, although he relied too much on the advice of others for his own good, yet it was caused more by a consciousness of a lack of education than by a desire to shirk action. In the care

of the Indians he was indefatigable, as appears by his large correspondence with Colonel (afterward Sir William) Johnson and the officers of the different frontier posts. He labored incessantly with his Assembly to make them realize the condition of the colony; and had they met his views half-way, or even manifested a tithe of his energy, the Province of New York would not have presented such an inviting field for the encroachments of the French. He is accused of amassing by unfair means a large fortune while Governor, yet he freely advanced out of his private purse large sums for the exigencies of the Indian affairs, and many times saved the Six Nations from defection, and the province from the horrors of a predatory warfare, when it was impossible to rouse the Assembly to a sense of danger. Indeed, I think it may safely be said that, had it not been for the untiring efforts of Mr. Clinton and Colonel Johnson, the Six Nations would have been completely won over by the French, and the fire-brand and tomahawk carried down to the very gates of New York.

Meanwhile, several public edifices had been erected, and various improvements had taken place in the city. In 1747, the Presbyterian church in Wall Street, which had been erected by Hunter, was rebuilt. "In the course of the next two years, Beekman and the contiguous streets were regulated. Ferry Street was ceded to the city; Beekman, Dey, and Thames Streets were paved; Pearl Street was dug down near Peek Slip, and graded from Franklin Square to Chatham Street; and John Street was paved and regulated.* In 1751, a Moravian Chapel was built

* Another important event occurred about this time, which should not be omitted by one who attempts to give a history of the city—inasmuch as it gives us the origin of the yearly appropriation made by the Common Council for the *City Manual*—viz., that in 1747 the Common Council appropriated four pounds for the publication of fifty copies of *An Essay on the Duties of Vestrymen!*

in Fulton Street; the following year, the first Merchants' Exchange was erected at the foot of Broad Street; and St. George's Chapel was built by Trinity Church on the corner of Cliff and Beekman, and was consecrated on the 1st of July by the Rev. Mr. Barclay, a former missionary among the Mohawks, but now the rector of Trinity Church." This building remained in good preservation, well known as one of the few original landmarks, until 1868, when it shared the fate of other structures of a similar character, and was torn down to make room for another altar to the god Mammon! This was, next to the Post-office, the oldest church-edifice in the city, and its quaint old chandeliers, and aisles flagged with gray stone, continued for many years relics of the days of yore. Washington, it is said, was a frequent attendant of this church during his residence in this city in the early part of the Revolutionary War. In speaking of the history of this edifice, a writer in the *New York World*, of March 17th, 1868, recalls the following interesting facts:

"One hundred and twenty years ago, New York city had not attained its majority, and Broadway was but a cow-path above Canal Street. The Right Honorable George Clinton, 'Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Province of New York and the Territories thereon, Depending in America. Vice-Admiral of the Same, and Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet,' as that most doughty and right honorable personage was wont to sign himself in proclamations to the fat burghers of New York, sat in the chair now filled by Reuben E. Fenton. In that day, New York city was a nest for privateers, which sailed hence to destroy French and Spanish commerce. According as their destination might be, these vessels, with a fair quantity of rum, molasses, and sea-provisions, would be piloted to the Hook, and there take on board an India, Mediterranean, or other pilot, to carry them to their destination. Small negro boys and Jamaica men in parcels were sold at auction where now the Custom-house rears its lofty pillars. Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria and Queen of Bohemia and Hungary, wielded the scepter of the Cæsars; George the Second, *Fidei Defensor*, twiddled his thumbs in Windsor Park and played bowls with his Hanoverian mistresses; and wheat was six shillings a bushel; flour, eighteen shillings a hundred; beef, forty shillings a barrel; West-India rum, three and eight pence a gallon; salt, three shillings a bushel; and single-refined sugar, one and 'tuppence' a pound in New York city. Manus Carroll had been hung at the old powder-house, which still stands on an eminence at the upper end of the Central Park, for a cruel

and most 'un-Christian'-like murder which he had committed two years before in Albany, then a thriving town. Counterfeiters were at that time amenable to the death-penalty; and the Barnum of that day exhibited wax-figures in Dock Street, and the editor of the *New York Weekly Post Boy* was in the habit of receiving presents of baskets of Bermuda potatoes from the masters of vessels bound into the goodly port of New York. One day the editor received a potato weighing seven pounds from the master of the *Good Delight*, from Plumb Island, in the far-off 'Bermoothes,' and, out of sheer joy at the prodigy, he went and made himself drunk on 'arrack-punch,' the most aristocratic tippie of our forefathers' days. The city and county of New York had at that early day a population of twelve thousand, two thousand of which number were negroes.

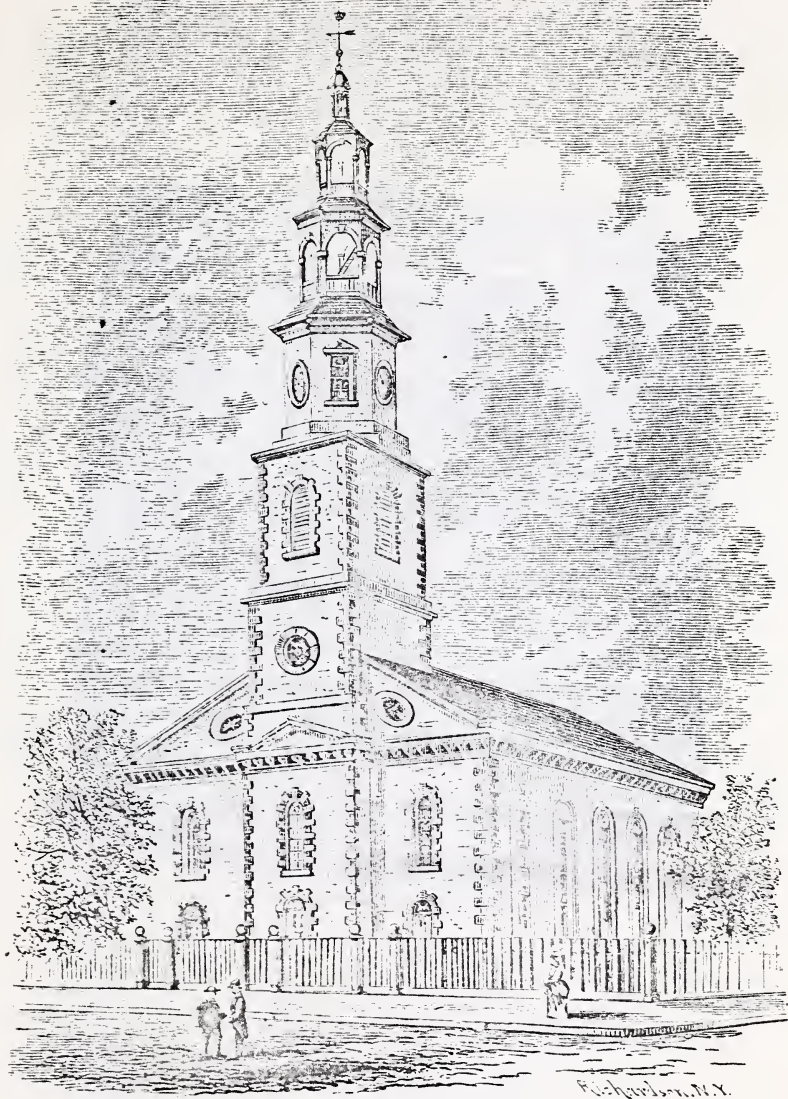
"On the 15th of April, 1748, a number of gentlemen met in the vestry of King's Chapel, or Trinity Church, then situated where the present church stands in the Broadway, but, at the time referred to, overhanging the banks of the Hudson, whose limits have since been pushed back a quarter of a mile by the contractors and dust-collectors; and these gentlemen being of the opinion, after a deliberate consultation, that it was necessary to have a chapel of ease connected with Trinity, it was then and there ordained that the Church-wardens, Colonel Moore, Mr. Watts, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Horsmanden, Mr. Reade, and Mr. Lodge, be appointed a committee to select a place for the erection 'of ye' Chapel of St. George's. Another meeting was held on the 4th of July, 1748. Colonel Robinson, one of the committee, reported that he had agreed with a Mr. Clarkson for a number of lots, for which that person had asked the sum of £500, to be paid in a year; and several persons in Montgomerie Ward had stated to him that the lots of Colonel Beekman, fronting Beekman and Van Cliff Streets, would be more commodious for building the said chapel, and proposed that if the vestry would agree to the building of the chapel on Colonel Beekman's property, the inhabitants of Montgomerie Ward would raise money among themselves to purchase the ground, and that if Mr. Clarkson insisted on the performance of the agreement with him for his lots, they would take a conveyance for them, and pay the purchase-money; which was agreed to after many hot words; for these respectable vestrymen, in a manner like all vestrymen from time immemorial, had tempers of their own, and no doubt they were exercised at the fact that the doughty Robinson had taken upon himself to make an agreement to purchase lots for £500, a very large sum in those days, when the gold-board had not been established, while, on the other hand, the inhabitants of Montgomerie Ward, which was afterward called the 'Swamp' in the memory of man, were, without whip or spur, eager for the honor and glory of the future, to furnish the lots and build upon them a church. Well, the vestrymen went home and drank more arrack-punch, sweetened with muscovado sugar, and punished 'oelykocks,' greasy with oil and other substances, and then returned to the bosoms of their respective families. Donations poured in to the committee, and the first subscription, of £100, was made by Sir Peter Warren, who desired, if not inconsistent with the rules of the church, that they would reserve a pew for himself and family in perpetuity. The Archbishop of Canterbury contributed ten pounds. The installation services were held on the 1st day of July, A. D. 1752; but there being no bishop in the country at the time, it was consecrated agreeably to the ancient usages of the church. The Rev. Henry Barclay, D. D., at this time, was the rector, and Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, D. D., assistant minister of Trinity Church. Being finished

in the finest style of architecture of the period, and having a handsome and lofty steeple, this edifice was justly deemed a great ornament to the city. It first stood alone, there being but few other houses in its vicinity. Shortly subsequent, however, the streets were graded and built upon, and now the immense warehouses of enterprising merchants and handsome private residences surround it on every side. When first constructed, the interior arrangement of St. George's differed considerably from the present, the chancel at that time being contained in the circular recess at the rear of the church, and the altar standing back against the rear-wall in full view of the middle aisle. There was also some difference in the arrangement of the desk, pulpit, and clerk's desk. An interesting relation is told concerning the material of which this part of the church-furniture was made, and it may be thus condensed: In one of the voyages made by a sea-captain, whose vessel was unfortunately wrecked, he sustained, among other injuries, the loss of the vessel's masts. This disaster occurring on a coast where no other wood than mahogany could be procured, the captain was obliged to remedy the loss by replacing the old masts with masts made of mahogany. This ship, thus repaired, returned to this port about the time St. George's was building, when more suitable masts were substituted, and those made of mahogany were donated to the church. The pulpit, desk, and chancel-rails were removed some years afterward, and it may be interesting to state that that they can now be seen answering a like capacity in Christ Church, in the little town of Manhasset, on Long Island.

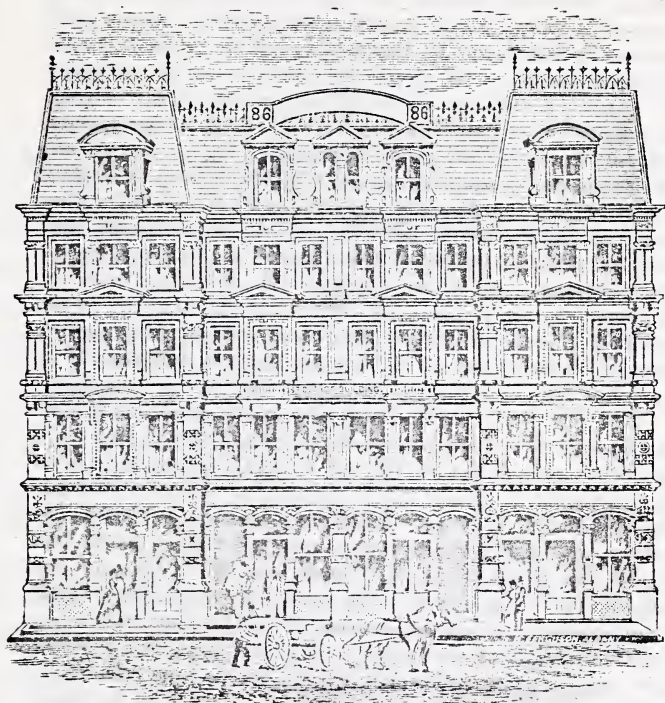
"There is an incident connected with the beautiful font of this church which will also bear repetition. Originally intended for a Catholic church in South America, it was shipped on a French vessel to be carried to its destination; but whilst on the voyage it was captured by the English during the old French war and brought to this city. This font is made of white marble, and is a masterly piece of workmanship. In 1814, when St. George's was burned, this font was supposed to have been destroyed, but it was found about thirty years ago in a remote part of the church, where it had been removed during the conflagration. It was somewhat damaged, but not enough, however, to prevent its further use; and after being cleaned and repaired it was replaced in front of the chancel, where it now stands, an interesting feature of the time-honored building.

"One of the melancholy events associated with this old church was the sudden death of the Rev. John Ogilvie. On the 18th of November, 1774, whilst delivering one of the lectures he was in the habit of holding on Friday evenings, he was struck with apoplexy. He had given out his text: 'To show that the Lord is upright: he is my rock, and there is no unrighteousness in him.'—Psalm, xcii, 15: and after repeating a sentence or two he sank into the reading-desk, and was deprived of speech. He suffered thus for eight days, when he was relieved by death. It was in this chapel, in July, 1787, that the Right Rev. Samuel Provost, the first bishop of the diocese of New York, held his first ordination, at which time the late Right Rev. Richard C. Moore, D. D., Bishop of Virginia, and the Rev. Joseph G. I. Bend, of Baltimore, were made deacons. In the year 1811, arrangements were made for a separation between the congregation of St. George's and the corporation of Trinity Church, after which the former became duly organized as a separate parish, known as St. George's Church.

"The following persons composed the first vestry: Church-wardens—



ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL



ST. GEORGE BUILDING.

Gerrit Van Wagenen and Henry Peters. Vestrymen—Francis Dominick, Isaac Lawrence, Isaac Carow, Robert Wardell, Cornelius Schermerhorn, John Onderdonk, Edward W. Laight, and William Green. After St. George's became a separate parish, its first minister was the Rev. John Brady, who afterward became an assistant under the Rev. John Kewly. St. George's was entirely consumed by fire in the month of January, 1814, nothing being saved but the bare walls. After a proper examination, these walls were decided to be safe enough to bear another roof, and when this was put on the whole interior of the building was renewed. The interior of the church is much more handsomely finished than the exterior, the carved capitals of the Corinthian order presenting a fine specimen of architectural beauty. The ground-floor is divided into three aisles, and on either side a commodious gallery is supported by massive columns. At the west end, and connecting these two, there is another gallery, in the middle of which is located a handsome mahogany organ. Above this end gallery there are two smaller ones, which are used by the Sunday-school pupils. From the center of the ceiling three large magnificent glass chandeliers depend, and these are among the few articles that were saved from the fire. Over the side-galleries three smaller but very beautiful chandeliers are hung above the arches. When St. George's was completed a second time, it was placed by the vestry under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Dr. Milnor, who continued to fill the rectorship until the 8th of April, 1845, when he died. This venerable minister was held in high esteem by his parish, and his death was sincerely lamented. He had been a lawyer in Philadelphia in early life, and for several terms represented that city in Congress. In 1813, he abandoned secular pursuits, and was admitted to priests' and deacons' orders by Bishop White.

"One hundred years after the consecration of St. George's, a grand centenary celebration was held in the church, and hundreds of worshippers knelt in the shadow of the pulpit from which George Washington had often heard the sacred text read and expounded. Dr. Tyng held the rectorship until the new edifice in Sixteenth Street was finished, when the communion service was removed to the new church, and a number of old relics carried away. Now the venerable pile is being gutted from organ-loft to altar, and the hungry doors are open that all may see the nakedness of the edifice. The old gray flag-stones, worn by the feet of Schuylers, Livingstons, Reads, Van Cliffs, Beekmans, Van Rensselaers, Cortlandts, Moores, and others, well known and respected in the infancy of the metropolis, are to be torn up and converted into lime; the pulpit will go to a junk-shop, and the rest of the furniture to the wood-yard. At present the graves of Revolutionary heroes serve as a depository for ashes and rubbish, and vessels are emptied daily from the windows adjoining on places where, a hundred years ago, were carved the sacred words never to be effaced, "*Requiescat in pace.*" The old church has to be torn down, and the six lots will be sold to the highest purchasers. The church was the oldest in the city but one, the building occupied as a post-office having been the first building erected as a place of worship. The property purchased from Colonel Beekman for £500 is now worth, it is said, half a million of dollars." *

* The site of this building is now (1871) occupied by the elegant marble building of the Oriental and American Stove Works.

CHAPTER V.

MR. CLINTON was at his country-seat at Flushing, L. I., when his successor, Sir Danvers Osborne, arrived. This was on Sunday, the 7th of October, 1753. The council, mayor, corporation, and the chief citizens met the new Governor on his arrival, and escorted him to the council chamber. The following day Mr. Clinton called upon him, and they both dined with the members of the council. On Wednesday morning Mr. Clinton administered to him the oath of office, and delivered to him the seals; at the same time delivering to James De Lancey his commission as Lieutenant-Governor. As soon as these forms were finished, Governor Osborne, attended by the council and Mr. Clinton, set out for the Town-hall, where the new commission was usually read to the people. Scarcely, however, had the procession advanced a few steps, when the rabble, incited, it is said, by the De Lancey faction, insulted Mr. Clinton so grossly as to compel him to leave the party and retire into the fort. In the evening cannon were fired, bonfires lighted, fire-works displayed, and the whole city was given up to a delirium of joy. Amid all these rejoicings, the new Governor sat in his room, gloomy and sad; and, seemingly averse to conversation, retired early. On Thursday morning he informed the council that his strict orders were to insist upon an indefinite support for the

Government, and desired to have the opinion of the board upon the probabilities of its success. It was universally agreed by the members present that the Assembly never would submit to this demand, and that a permanent support could not be enforced. Turning to Mr. Smith, who had hitherto remained silent, he requested his opinion, which being to the same effect as that just expressed, Sir Danvers Osborne sighed, and, leaning against the window, with his face partially concealed, exclaimed, in great mental distress, "Then, what am I sent here for?" That same evening he was so unwell that a physician was summoned, with whom he conversed for a little time, and then retired to his chamber, where he spent the most of the night in arranging his private affairs. In the morning he was found suspended from the top of the garden-fence, dead.*

Sir Danvers Osborne had lost a wife, to whom he was passionately attached, shortly before coming to New York. This acting upon a mind morbidly sensitive, had thrown him into a melancholy bordering upon insanity. He came to the Government charged with instructions much more stringent in their tone than those given to his predecessor; and, knowing the difficulty which Mr. Clinton experienced during his administration, he saw before him only a succession of storms and tempests. Almost the first words of the city corporation in their address to him in the Town-hall—"that they would not brook any infringement of their liberties, civil and religious"—convinced Sir Danvers Osborne of the utter impossibility of the task assigned to him. All these causes working upon a morbid state of mind—wishing to carry out his instructions on the one hand, yet seeing its utter hopelessness on

* Manuscript affidavits of Philip Crosby and John Milligan before the council. Sworn to October 12th, 1753, and now preserved in the Secretary-of-State's Office, Albany, N. Y.

the other—produced a temporary insanity, in which state he committed the rash act. Party rage, it is true, threw out suspicions of unfair play; and the council even thought it worth while to appoint a committee to investigate more fully the circumstances of his death; but these suspicions, it was made clearly evident, were entirely without foundation.

Immediately on the death of Governor Osborne, Mr. De Lancey, by virtue of his commission as Lieutenant-Governor, assumed the reins of government. The rôle which, he was henceforth to play, though difficult, was acted with his usual shrewdness and address. He had now to convince the ministry that he was zealous in the promotion of the interests of the Crown; while, at the same time, if he would retain his own popularity, he must show the Assembly that he was true to his former principles, and by no means required a compliance with the instructions, which, on the part of his majesty, he should present to them. "As his majesty's representative, he was obliged to urge their compliance with seeming sincerity and warmth; but as James De Lancey, their old friend and best adviser, it was his real sentiment that they never ought to submit." The change in the administration, however, was productive of one good result—that of infusing into the Assembly a desire to take active measures for the defence of the province, now threatened with a desolating Indian war. Before the close of the session, an elaborate complaint to the Crown and a representation to the Board of Trade against Mr. Clinton were drawn up, and forwarded, through Mr. De Lancey, to the Home Government. The Assembly was then prorogued to the first Tuesday of the following March—the Lieutenant-Governor tenderly remarking, before they parted, that they "must be sensible they had not acted with his majesty's royal instructions."

In the General Assembly, which met on the 15th of October, 1754, was first manifested the want of that harmony which had hitherto been so flattering to Mr.

1754.

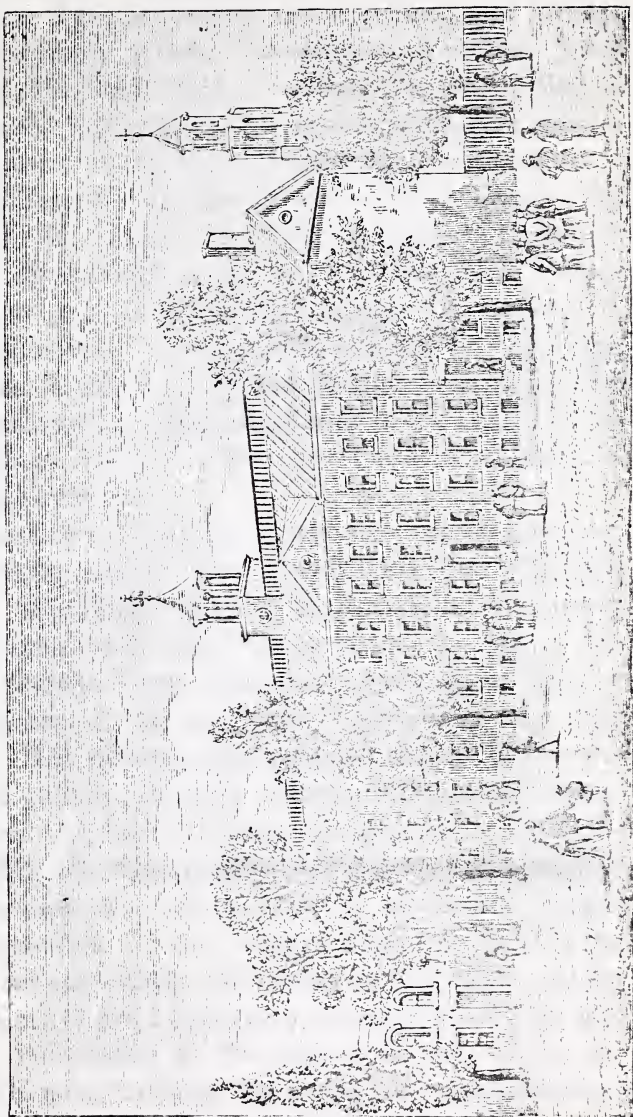
De Lancey's administration. The reluctance of the Lieutenant-Governor at the congress to accede to the plan of union first awakened suspicion in the public mind that his sympathies were on the side of the Crown, and that the affection which he professed for the people was only a cover to his own ambition. There were also a few of Mr. Clinton's friends left, around whom were gathered a small opposition; and the partiality which Mr. De Lancey had shown to his partisans since coming into power disgusted others and added to the discontent which was now quite general. To this was added another source of dissatisfaction—viz., the course he had taken in the founding of the college. To understand this latter point more clearly, it is necessary to glance at the origin of the controversy which was now raging fiercely, and which had already divided the Assembly into two parties.

The province of New York at this period was divided in its religious views into two sects—the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian—the former being led by James De Lancey and the latter by William Livingston. The Presbyterians, though outnumbering ten to one the Episcopalians, had not fairly recovered from the oppression of the early Governors, Fletcher and Cornbury; and they would probably have remained quiet had not the Episcopalians, with great lack of judgment, stirred up anew the embers of controversy.

The people of New York, awakened to the importance of stimulating education, raised, by successive lotteries, the sum of three thousand four hundred and forty-three pounds for the purpose of founding a college; and, in the fall of 1751, passed an act for placing the money thus raised in the hands of ten trustees. Of these, seven were

Episcopalians, two belonged to the Dutch Church, and the tenth was William Livingston, an English Presbyterian. This manifest inequality in favor of the Church of England at once raised a well-founded alarm in the minds of the other sects, who very justly perceived in this an attempt to make the college entirely sectarian, by which only those in the Episcopal Church could participate in its benefits. Nor were they left long in suspense, for it soon became well understood that the majority of the trustees were to have the college under their control, and were intending shortly to petition the Lieutenant-Governor for a charter, in which it was to be expressly stipulated that no person out of the communion of the English Church should be eligible to the office of president. Far-seeing men uttered gloomy forebodings; and a belief soon diffused itself through the minds of intelligent dissenters that this was only the foreshadowing of an attempt to introduce into the colony an established church.

This idea was to a majority of the colonists repugnant in the extreme. The union of Church and State, with its tithes and taxes, was, like the "skeleton in armor," ever present to their imaginations, stimulating them to the utmost resistance. Mr. Livingston, therefore, partially with the view of exposing the evils of a college founded upon such sectarian principles, established a paper called the *Independent Reflector*. The articles which successively appeared from his pen on this subject were able and pungent. Under his lash the leaders of the church party winced; and, in their agony, charged him with the design of breaking up the plan of any college whatever, and dreaded lest he should obtain a charter "for constituting a college on a basis the most catholic, generous, and free." These attacks of the church party were returned with redoubled violence, and the controversy had now risen to fever-heat.



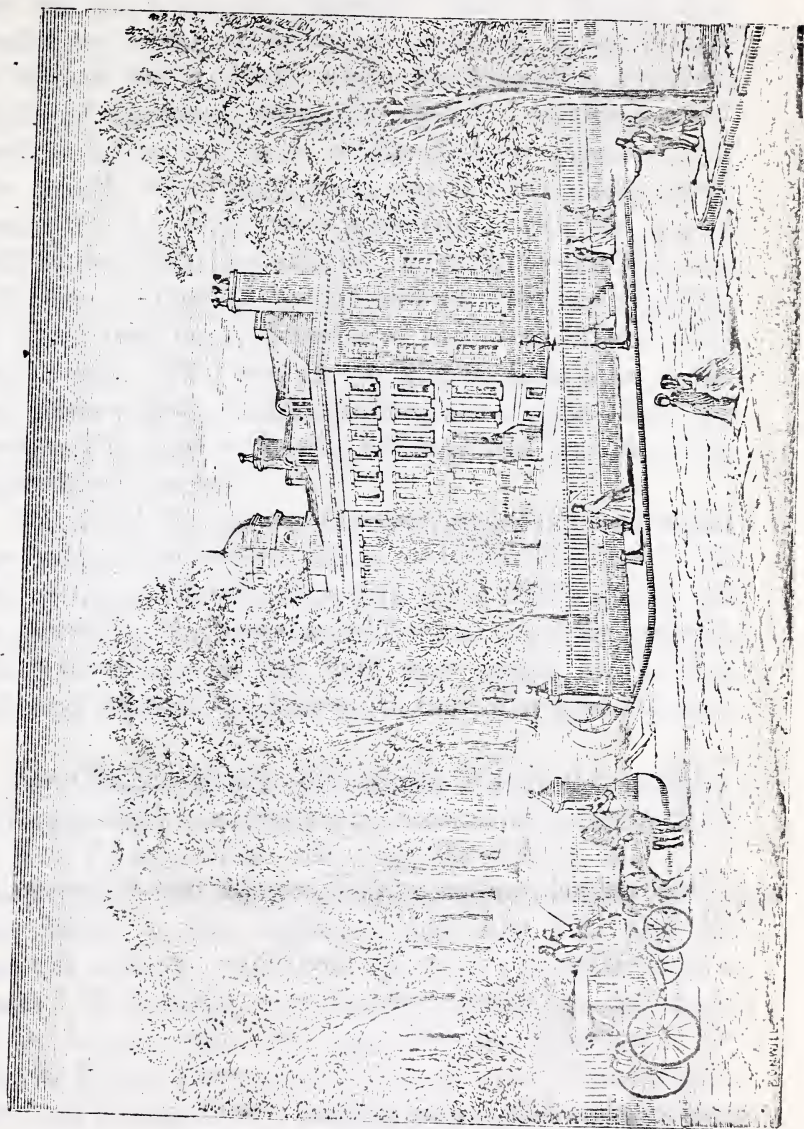
OLD KING'S COLLEGE.

But the efforts of Mr. Livingston and other able writers to prevent the incorporation of King's (Columbia) College under these principles were fruitless; and Mr. De Lancey accordingly granted the charter. The Rev. Samuel Johnson, from Stratford, a worthy man, was called to the president's chair, and Mr. Livingston was appointed one of the governors, in the hope of silencing his opposition.

The granting of this charter was so displeasing to the majority of the people, that the Lieutenant-Governor thought it advisable, in order to win back their former confidence, to urge at the present session the passage of several popular acts. Among them was one for supplying the garrison at Albany and the fortifications along the frontiers, and another for the discharge of the claims of the public creditors, especially the one of Colonel (afterward Sir William) Johnson.

The granting of a charter to the new college, however, had not utterly crushed out opposition to its obnoxious principles. The House still had the disposal of the money which had been raised; and the sectarians having a majority, the trustees were ordered to report their transactions by virtue of the act under which they had been appointed. The latter, accordingly, on the 1st of November handed in two separate reports, William Livingston reading one, and James Livingston and Mr. Nichol the other. After the two reports had been considered, the House unanimously resolved "that it would not consent to any disposition of the moneys raised by lottery for erecting a college within this colony in any other manner than by an act of the Legislature hereafter passed for that purpose." Permission at the same time was given Mr. Robert Livingston to bring in a bill for incorporating a college, which he introduced that same afternoon.

The introduction of this bill astonished both Houses. It was vain to suppose that the council would give its

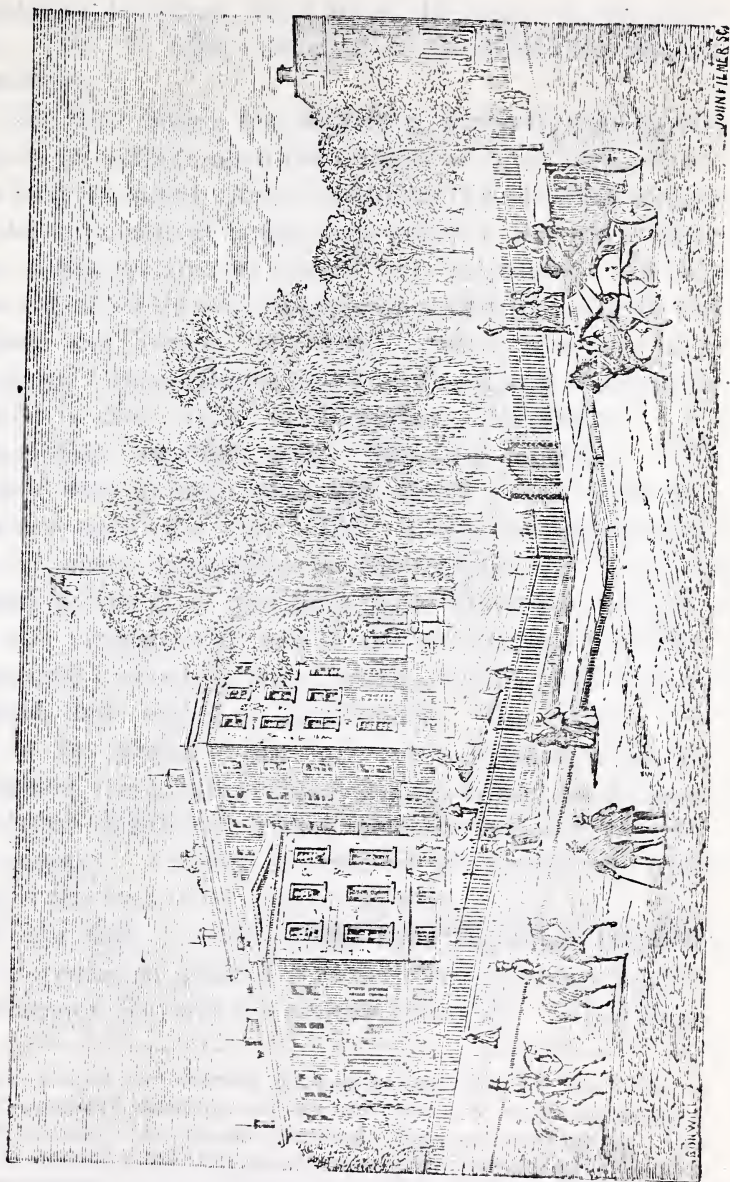


COLUMBIA COLLEGE, 1842.

assent to an act so distasteful to its religious prejudices; nor was the Lieutenant-Governor likely to directly contradict the letters-patent which, on behalf of the Crown, he himself had granted; while the Assembly, composed chiefly of dissenters, dared not reject it. In this predicament, a motion was made by Mr. Walton—prefaced with the remark “that the subject was of the utmost consequence to the people they represented, with the respect both to their civil and religious liberties”—that the consideration of the bill be deferred until the next session, by which time the sentiments of their constituents could be obtained. This motion was gladly seized upon as the only mode which presented an honorable retreat from the position they had so hastily assumed, and was therefore immediately carried.

Thus, with the close of the year, practically terminated the college controversy, which, considered in itself, was not, perhaps, of much importance; but which should not be omitted by the historian, who would show the progress which the citizens of New York were making toward that civil and religious freedom which they afterward attained.

Sir Charles Hardy, the person whom the ministry had appointed to succeed Sir Danvers Osborne, arrived in New York in 1755. He was, like Clinton, an unlettered British admiral, and he had not landed long before it was apparent that, like him, also, he had not sufficient executive talent to govern without a leader. He therefore soon resigned himself into the hands of De Lancey, who thus again became Governor. Sir Charles Hardy, however, soon became tired of his inactive life; and having, like a sensible man, asked and received permission to resign the government and return to his former profession, he hoisted his flag as Rear-Admiral of the Blue; and leaving his government in the hands of the



COLUMBIA COLLEGE, 1872.

Lieutenant-Governor, De Lancey, he sailed on the 2d of July, 1757, to take command of an expedition against Lewisburg.

The year before his departure, however, was signalized by an outrage upon the citizens of New York, which was long treasured up, and undoubtedly had its full weight in the catalogue of grievances which a few years later was to precipitate the colony into revolution. At this time the colonists were engaged in a bloody war with the Indians and French; and Lord Loudon, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army in America, arrived in New York in December, 1756, with twenty-four hundred men. His first act after landing was to insist that his officers should have free quarters upon the city. This, it will be remembered, was in direct opposition to the charter of liberties, framed by the first Assembly under Governor Dongan; and the citizens, who saw in this an attempt to burden them with a standing army, became excited, and warmly pleaded their rights as Englishmen. But Loudon was not to be moved. Six men were billeted upon the brother of the Lieutenant-Governor—Oliver De Lancey. The latter threatened, if they were not removed, to leave the country. "I shall be glad of it," replied his lordship, at the same time quartering half-a-dozen more upon him, "for then the troops will have the whole house."* The Corporation insisted that free quarters were against the common law and the petition of rights. "God damn

* Sir: Am just now informed that 2,400 men are arrived in New York. My Lord Loudon set a billeting them and sent only six to his old acquaintance, Mr. Ol. De Lancey; he zounzed, and blood-and-zounzed at the soldiers. This was told my lord; he sent Mr. Ol. half-a-dozen more. He sent my lord word if matters were to go so he would leave the country. My lord sent him word he would be glad of it; then the troops would have the whole house. I really thought this so extraordinary, I must communicate it to you."—*MS. Letter in the author's possession. Wm. Corry to Sir Wm. Johnson, Jan. 15th, 1757.*

my blood!" exclaimed Loudon to Mayor Cruger, who presented the opinion of the Corporation, "if you do not billet my officers upon free quarters this day, I'll order all the troops in North America, under my command, and billet them myself upon this city!" All argument being thus at an end, a subscription was raised for the quartering of the officers; and Loudon, having rendered himself an object of detestation, went to Boston to breathe the same threats and to talk of the rigor which was to characterize the next year's campaign.

Three years after the departure of Governor Hardy, the City of New York was thrown into deep mourning by the death of its former Chief-Justice and present Lieutenant-Governor, James De Lancey. On the 30th of July, 1760, he died very suddenly from an attack of asthma, a malady to which he had for many years been subject. The day previous to his decease, he had visited Staten Island, and dined with Governor Morris, General Prevost, and several other distinguished men of the day. Late in the evening he crossed the bay, seemingly laboring under great depression of spirits, and drove to his country-seat in the suburbs.* The next morning he was found by one of his little grandchildren † sitting in his library in the last agonies of death.

By his violent political enemies Mr. De Lancey has been represented as a most unprincipled demagogue, while by his satellites he has been lauded to the skies as a disinterested citizen and patriot. Neither of these views is correct; and the truth, as is generally the case, lies be-

* On the east side of the Bowery, a little above Grand Street.

† The little child that discovered him was the *grandfather* of the late Bishop De Lancey, of New York. Miss Booth, in her generally accurate and valuable work, states that James De Lancey was the *great-grandfather* of the late bishop. This, however, is a mistake. He was his *grandfather*.

tween the two extremes. Mr. De Lancey, undoubtedly, was very ambitious and fond of notoriety; and his love of power and the emoluments of office often led him into the commission of acts from which otherwise he would have shrunk. While he has been praised for his "broad and popular principles," and for his "political skill in successfully preserving to the Assembly the right of annual appropriations," yet he assumed this position more from a determination to displease Clinton, than he himself might rule, than from any love for the people. His course in 1754, in relation to the college charter, alienated his warmest friends; and although he subsequently bitterly repented of giving his sanction to the act of incorporation, yet it was more on account of his loss of popularity than from any feeling of liberality. He was, however, possessed of many amiable and noble qualities and private virtues; his disposition was social and genial, and he was withal a good classical scholar and a profound lawyer. His conduct upon the bench was generally irreproachable; and his decisions, in those cases in which the feelings of the political partisan did not enter, were characterized by fairness and discrimination. His death, occurring at this time, was a great loss to the province; for, numerous as were his faults, he was a man of unquestioned ability. During his long administration he had made himself thoroughly conversant with Indian relations; and since the departure of Clinton had heartily co-operated with Sir William Johnson, the Indian superintendent, in all his efforts in that department. By his death the political complexion of the province underwent a material change; and Dr. Colden, by virtue of being president of the council, took the charge of the Government until the wishes of the ministry were known.

Scarcely had the gloom resulting from the death of Mr. De Lancey been dispelled, when the city was again

thrown into excitement—this time, however, from a pleasurable cause. In the October that succeeded the Lieutenant-Governor's death, General Amherst, covered with laurels on account of his conquest of Canada, visited New York. So overjoyed were the citizens at the successful termination of the protracted struggle, that it seemed as if they could not do too much for him, whom they regarded in the light of their preserver from the tomahawk and scalping-knife. Accordingly, upon the arrival of Amherst, a public dinner was given to him, the freedom of the city presented in a gold box, salutes fired, and the whole city illuminated. Nor, as is too frequently the case with ovations, were these honors undeserved by their recipient, who was as modest as he was brave.

Meanwhile, the work of improving the city rapidly advanced. In the spring of 1761, new streets were opened and paved, among which was Partition Street, now Fulton.

At the same time the first theater was opened
1761. in Beekman Street, under the patronage of the Lieutenant-Governor, although the project was strenuously opposed by the Assembly as tending to vitiate and lower the standard of public morals. "During this year, also, the old plan of lighting the streets by lanterns suspended from the windows was definitely abandoned; and public lamps and lamp-posts were erected in the principal streets, and lighted at the public expense." Laws were also passed regulating the prices of provisions, some of which the same author gives as affording an idea of the prices at that time. Beef was sold at four pence half-penny per pound; pork, five pence half-penny; veal, six pence; butter, fifteen pence; milk, six coppers per quart; and a loaf of bread, of a pound and twelve ounces, four coppers.

In June, 1764, a light-house was erected on Sandy

Hook and lighted for the first time. Two ferries were also established the same year; one between Paulus Hook (Jersey City) and New York, and another between Staten Island and Bergen. At the same time the 1764.
mail between New York and Philadelphia was changed from once a fortnight to twice a week, the distance between the two cities being made in three days.

At an early period in New York the mails, now of such vital importance, were a very insignificant affair.



SANDY HOOK, FROM THE LIGHTHOUSES.

Even since the American Revolution a saddle-bag boy on horseback, without any protection, carried the mail three times a week between New York and Philadelphia. People wondered at seeing the bags next placed upon a sulky; and were lost in amazement when a four-horse stage be-

came necessary for the increasing load and bulk. Now, a large car, several times a day, is found insufficient for the amount of mail matter that passes between those two cities; and instead of there being, as formerly, only a few straggling letters, two hundred and fifty thousand postage-stamps are, on an average, daily canceled, and that is a representation of the number of *domestic* letters delivered at the post-office every twenty-four hours.* Then the post went and returned by way of "Blazing Star," Staten Island. In process of time, several new routes were opened to Philadelphia. One crossed the bay to Staten Island in a *perogue*, commonly called a *periagua*, a little open boat with lee-boards, and steered by one man. Reaching the island, the traveler proceeded to the ferry at "Arthur Rolls'" Sound, crossed in a scow to New Jersey, and shortly reached the "Blazing Star," near Woodbridge. Journeying slowly to the Raritan River, New Brunswick was reached by a scow, and in the same manner Trenton, on the Delaware, until, by the third or fourth day, the "City of Brotherly Love" made its appearance. Another route advertised a commodious "stage-boat" to start with goods and passengers from the City Hall Slip (Coenties) twice a week, for Perth Amboy ferry, and thence by stage-wagon to Cranberry and Burlington, from which point a stage-boat continued the line to Philadelphia; this trip generally required three days. This was long before the days of steam-boats. These "stage-boats" were small sloops, sailed by a single man and boy, or two men; and passing "outside," as it is still called, by the Narrows and through the "Lower Bay," these small passage-vessels, at times, were driven out to sea, thus oftentimes caus-

* One comparative statement more. The City of New York is divided into twelve postal stations, each one having its distinct officer and clerks. Station A, situated in the heart of New York, does a larger business than the city of Buffalo, New Haven, Hartford, Hudson, or Troy.

ing vexatious delays. In very stormy weather, the "inside route," through the Kills, was chosen. The most common way to Philadelphia, however, was to cross the North River in a sail-boat, and then the Passaic and Hackensack by scows, reaching the "Quaker City" by stages in about three days. But these passages had their perils. The "Blazing Star Inn" (sign of a comet) lay four or five miles from the Staten Island ferry; and Baron De Kalb, then a colonel, crossing over here in January, 1768, was the only one of nine passengers not frozen so as to lose life or limb. The open scow sank on a sand-bank and left the whole party exposed all night. When rescued, he alone refused to be warmed by the fire, but placing his feet and legs in cold water, went to bed and arose uninjured. One of his comrades died on the scow before succor arrived.

In 1756, the first stage started between New York and Philadelphia—three days through. In 1765, a second stage was advertised for Philadelphia—a covered Jersey wagon—at two pence a mile. The next ^{1765.} year another line was begun, called the "Flying Machine," with good wagons, seats on springs, time two days, and fare two pence a mile, or twenty shillings through. John Mersereau, at the "Blazing Star," "notifies that persons may go from New York to Philadelphia and back in five days, remaining in Philadelphia two nights and one day; fare, twenty shillings through. There will be two wagons and two drivers, and four sets of horses. The passengers will lodge at Paulus Hook Ferry, the night before, to start thence the next morning early." *

* In this connection it may be mentioned that, during the year 1756, the first British packet-boats commenced sailing from New York to Falmouth, each letter carried "to pay four-penny weight of silver." It is also worth noticing here that the earliest voyage to China from New York was made during the year 1785, in the ship *Empress*, Captain Greene. The same year Captain Dean performed this identical voyage in an Albany sloop—a feat at that day more remarkable than the sailing of the little "Red, White, and Blue" across the Atlantic a short time ago.

During the year 1785, the first stages began their trips between New York and Albany, with four horses, at four pence a mile, on the east side of the North River, under a special act of the Legislature, for ten years. Ten years afterward this line was extended as far as Whitestone, just beyond old Fort Schuyler (Utica).*

What a contrast between that day and our own! *Then* news from England five months old was fresh and racy. *Now* we must have it in two hours, and then grumble at the length of time taken by the Atlantic cable to convey the intelligence. *Then* news seven days old from New York to Boston was swift enough for an express. *Now*, if we cannot obtain the news from Washington in less than the same number of minutes, we become almost frantic, and talk of starting new telegraph companies.

* On the opposite page will be found a *fac-simile* of an advertisement, cut out of an old newspaper kindly given me by the Hon. Theodore Faxon, of Utica, N. Y. Mr. Faxon is the son-in-law of "Jason Parker."

PARKER'S

Mail Stage,

From Whitestown to Canajoharrie.



THE Mail leaves Whitestown every Monday and Thursday, at two o'clock P. M. and proceeds to Old Fort Schuyler the same evening; next morning starts at four o'clock, and arrives at Canajoharrie in the evening; exchanges passengers with the Albany and Cooperstown stages, and the next day returns to Old Fort Schuyler.

Fare for passengers, Two Dollars; way passengers, Four Pence per mile; 14lb. baggage gratis; 150wt. rated the same as a passenger.

Seats may be had by applying at the Post-Office, Whitestown, at the house of the subscriber, Old Fort Schuyler, or at Captain Reef's, Canajoharrie.

JASON PARKER.

August, 1795.

CHAPTER VI.

It will be recollected that, on the death of Mr. De Lancey, the Government had devolved on Dr. Cadwalader Colden, as president of the council, until the wishes of the ministry could be ascertained. Shortly after his first speech to the Assembly on the 22d of October, 1760, news arrived of the death of George the Second and the accession of his grandson; and as it was the unanimous opinion of the provincial council that the demise of the King dissolved the Assembly, writs were issued for a new one, returnable upon the 3d of March, 1761. Meanwhile, various were the conjectures respecting the name of the future governor. At one time rumor gave the gubernatorial chair to General Gage; again the public were confident that Thomas Pownal would be the fortunate man. Some few suggested Colden, and others General Monckton. All surmises were at length set at rest. Pownal received the Governorship of Jamaica, Gage remained at Montreal, and Colden, having been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, announced to the Assembly that his majesty had been pleased "to distinguish the services of Major-General Monckton by constituting him his Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province." The new Governor, however, did not long occupy the gubernatorial chair, for, preferring the excitement of arms to the cares and troubles of office, he, like Governor

Hardy, requested to be allowed to resume his old profession. Accordingly, having produced his commission to the council and taken the oaths of office, he sailed from New York on the last day of November, 1761, leaving the government in the hands of Doctor Colden.

The administration of Doctor Colden was at first marked by no event of special moment, and the intercourse between himself and his Assembly, if we except the slight opposition against the theater in Beekman Street, was of the most amiable character. But this calm was to be of short duration; for, shortly after receiving his commission of Lieutenant-Governor, he was instrumental in an act which set not only the Assembly, but the whole province, in a blaze. As by the death of Mr. De Lancey the seat of Chief-Justice had become vacant, a general wish was expressed by the community that the vacancy should at once be filled. The three remaining judges, Horsmanden, Chambers, and Jones, having doubts as to their ability to issue processes under their old commissions since the death of the King, likewise urged the Lieutenant-Governor to appoint a successor without delay. Colden, however, was more concerned for his own and his family's advancement than for the welfare of the colony. In the same letter in which he announced to the Lords of Trade the death of De Lancey, he recommended his eldest son for the seat at the council-board, made vacant at the Lieutenant-Governor's death; and in the same fawning and grasping spirit he now desired the Earl of Halifax, the Colonial Secretary of State, to nominate a Chief-Justice. The result was, not only the nomination, but the actual appointment of Benjamin Pratt, a Boston lawyer, to the seat, not, as had been usual before the death of his late majesty, "during good behaviour," but "at the pleasure of the King."

The appointment in this manner, and at this time,

was peculiarly unfortunate. The sister colony of Massachusetts was now writhing under the "writs of assistance," which the British ministry had so recklessly determined to force upon the colonies. These "writs" had been requested by the custom-house officers to enable them the better to enforce the revenue. They were in effect search-warrants, and whoever held them might with impunity break open a citizen's house and violate the sanctity of his dwelling. The inhabitants were justly incensed at this exercise of arbitrary power, and the more so, as they saw no disposition on the part of those in authority to resist this infringement upon their liberties. Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, scrupled not to become the tool of the Earl of Egremont, Pitt's successor, and boldly declared himself in favor of adopting the odious plan of the Crown for increasing the revenue. Hutchinson, the Chief-Justice of the province, was equally subservient to the royal authority. An opportunity, however, soon came in which the temper of the people found vent. A petition having been presented to the Superior Court by the officers of the customs, that "writs of assistance" might ensue, the question was argued at length in February (1761) before the Chief-Justice and his four associate justices. Jeremiah Gridley, on behalf of the Crown, argued for the legality of the writ, on the ground that as the writ was allowed to the revenue-officers in England, to refuse the same powers to the colonial officers would be to deny that "the Parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislature of the British empire."

The fearless and impulsive James Otis, who had resigned his office as Advocate-General, that, untrammelled, he might argue this case against the Crown, appeared for the people of Boston. "These writs," he exclaimed, "are the worst instruments of arbitrary power, the most

destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law." With impassioned eloquence, he showed to the court the nature of these writs. "In the first place," he said, "the writ is universal, being directed to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects, so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the King's dominions. Every one with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission be legal, a tyrant in a legal manner. Also may control, imprison, or murder any one within the realm. In the next place, it is perpetual. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. * * * In the third place, a person with this writ, in the daytime may enter all houses, shops, &c., at will, and command all to assist him. Now, one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle, and whilst he is quiet he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom-house officers may enter our houses when they please. We are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way, and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court may inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient; and," continued he, "I am determined to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of my country in opposition to a kind of power which cost one King of England his head and another his throne; and to my dying day I will oppose, with all the power and faculties that God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand and villainy on the other!"

At the next term of the court, the writ of assistance was granted, but such was the feeling of the people that the custom-house officers, although having the writs in

their pockets, dared not in a single instance carry them into execution. But although the arguments of Otis failed to procure a decision in favor of the people, yet they did not die within the walls of the court-house. Caught up by his hearers, they were borne, as if on the wind, throughout the length and breadth of the land. "I do say in the most solemn manner," writes Mr. Adams, "that Mr. Otis's oration against writs of assistance breathed into this nation the breath of life."

With these stirring appeals of James Otis ringing in their ears, it may readily be supposed that the people of New York were in no mood for this further encroachment upon their liberties. "To make the King's will," said they, "the term of office, is to make the bench of judges the instrument of the royal prerogative." Chambers, Horsmanden, and Jones refused to act longer unless they could hold their commissions during good behavior. Champions at once arose to do battle for the people. Conspicuous among these were William Livingston, John Morin Scott, and William Smith, all prominent lawyers and vigorous thinkers and writers; and they protested through the public prints against this attempt to
1761. render the judiciary dependent upon the Crown.

Nor were their efforts entirely fruitless, for in the answer of the Assembly on the 17th of December to the request of Dr. Colden that the usual salary of three hundred pounds to the Chief-Justice should be increased, it was resolved "that as the salaries allowed for the judges of the Supreme Court have been and still appear to be sufficient to engage gentlemen of the first figure, both as to capacity and fortune, in the colony, to accept of these offices, it would be highly improper to augment the salary of Chief-Justice on this occasion;" nor would they allow even the usual salary, unless the commissions of the Chief-Justice and the other judges were granted during good

behavior. To this Colden refused to accede; and Chief-Justice Pratt, having served several terms without a salary, was finally reimbursed out of his majesty's quit-rents of the province.

Thus were the people of New York following in the wake of their Puritan neighbors. Colden himself, as if he had some glimmerings of the future, began to doubt the result. "For some years past," he wrote to the Board of Trade, "three popular lawyers, educated in Connecticut, who have strongly imbibed the independent principles of that country, calumniate the administration in every exercise of the prerogative, and get the applause of the mass by propagating the doctrine that all authority is derived from the people."

It was in the fall of 1763 that George Grenville and Lord North first devised the plan of raising a revenue by the sale of stamps to the colonists. Grenville, however, hesitated long before pressing this measure; 1763. and it was not until the 22d of March, of this year, that the Stamp Act passed, and received the signature of the King. The act declared that thenceforth no legal instrument should possess any validity in the colonies unless it was stamped by the Government.* Long before the passage of the act, the rumor that such a project was even meditated by the ministry produced a universal outburst of indignation. If Parliament wished to raise any sum, said the colonists, let them employ the usual method of writing circular letters to the provinces, requesting supplies according to the ability of each. When thus applied to heretofore, the King had never found them remiss, but, on the contrary—as their loyal obedience to these requisitions during the last war had fully shown—they had

* "By this act, a ream of bail bonds *stamped* was £100; a ream of common printed ones before, was £15; a ream of *stamped* policies of insurance was £190; of common ones, without stamps, £20."—*Bradford, Mass.*, i, 12.

always responded with alacrity. Taxation, however, without representation in Parliament was tyranny to which they would not submit. These views were advocated with great power by James Otis in a series of pamphlets; and the public prints teemed with similar discussions, all of which were read with care and reflection. The Assemblies of Virginia and New York especially, by their protests, took firm ground against the passage of the act; but the petition of the former body was not received in England until it was too late, while that of the latter was so intemperate in its expressions against the newly-assumed pretensions of the Parliament that the agent, Mr. Charles, was unable to find any member of that body bold enough to present it.

It may, therefore, readily be seen, that if the mere intimation that such an odious measure was in contemplation, produced so much solicitude, the passage of the act itself was not calculated to allay the growing apprehensions of the people. But it was no sudden ebullition of indignation that first manifested itself. Indeed, so amazed were the colonists at the presumption of Parliament that when the news was first received their feelings were too deep for utterance. Hutchinson, the Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, mistaking this for submission, hastened to write to the ministry that "his countrymen were waiting, not to consider if they must submit to a stamp-duty; but to know when its operation was to commence." He knew not that this calm was but the stillness which preceded the tornado that was to sweep with such desolating fury throughout the land! He was shortly undeceived. Mutterings began to be heard in every province, which, in New England and New York, soon grew into acts of violence. On the 14th of August, Andrew Oliver, the brother-in-law of the Chief-Justice, who had received the appointment of stamp-distributer for Massachusetts,

was, together with Lord Bute, suspended in effigy from a tree in one of the streets of Boston. In reply to the command of the Chief-Justice to take down those figures, the sheriff gave a flat refusal; and the council of the province likewise declined to interfere. That same night, the mob, taking the images down, carried them to the newly-erected Stamp-office, which they immediately razed. Oliver's dwelling was next assailed, the windows and furniture demolished, and the effigies burned on Fort Hill. The next day, Oliver resigned; but he was obliged, the same evening, to make a public recantation at a bonfire which the populace had kindled. But, having once given vent to their long pent-up exasperation, they did not stop here. Urged on by a popular preacher, Jonathan Mayhew by name, who had taken for his text the previous day, "I would they were even cut off which trouble you," they destroyed, on the 26th, the records and files of the Court of Admiralty, and, breaking into the house of Hallowell, the Comptroller of Customs, demolished the furniture, and freely drank of the choice wines in the cellar. To their just anger were now added the fumes of liquor; and proceeding forthwith to the residence of Hutchinson, they tore the paintings from the walls, destroyed the plate, and scattered his large and valuable library of books and manuscripts to the winds; nor did they depart until the interior of the building, even to the partition-walls, was completely demolished. Happily, Hutchinson and his innocent family, having received timely notice of their danger, had escaped before the arrival of the rioters—otherwise, the crime of murder might have been added to these violent and disgraceful proceedings.

In Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, the popular indignation showed itself in similar demonstrations, though not of so violent a character. The effect, however, in those provinces was the same; each of the

stamp-distributers being forced to resign to save himself from odium, if not from death.

Meantime, the Assembly of Massachusetts resolved, on the 6th of June, that "it was highly expedient there should be a meeting, as soon as might be, of committees from the Houses of Representatives or Burgesses in the several colonies, to consult on the present circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they were and must be reduced, and to consider of a general congress—to be held at New York the first Tuesday of October." To this invitation the colonies heartily responded, and in the convention, held at the time and place designated, they were all represented, except New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The three latter, however, although prevented by their Governors, by continued adjournments, from sending delegates, signified by letters their willingness to acquiesce in whatever measures the convention might adopt; so, also, wrote New Hampshire. Lieutenant-Governor Colden, who had from the beginning pronounced the convention unconstitutional and unlawful, likewise endeavored, by successive adjournments, to prevent the Assembly of New York from electing delegates. But an Assembly that had driven Clinton from his chair, and had successfully fought through so many years against a permanent support, was not to be thus easily foiled; and a committee appointed by
176 . them in October, 1764, to correspond with their
sister colonies upon recent acts of Parliament in relation to trade, now took their seats in the Congress as the representatives of the people of New York.

Timothy Ruggles, who had been sent by Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, to thwart the patriotic efforts of his colleagues, was chosen president of the Congress, and John Cotton, clerk. No time was lost. Committees were immediately appointed to draft petitions to Parliament.

having for their burden the Stamp Act; and, after a harmonious session of fourteen days, the convention dissolved, having adopted a declaration of rights, a petition to the King, and a memorial to both Houses of Parliament—the latter being drawn by James Otis.

As before remarked, the people of New York were among the most bitter opponents of the Stamp Act. While the riots were going on in Boston, the act itself was reprinted, and hawked about the streets of New York city, as "The folly of England, and ruin of America." Secret organizations styling themselves the "Sons of Liberty" met to discuss plans of resistance. Warned by the example of his brother appointees in the neighboring colonies, McEvers, the stamp-distributor, resigned. General Gage, at the solicitation of Colden, ordered down, in July, from Crown Point, a company of the Sixtieth regiment, for the defense of Fort George, the guns of which were remounted, new ordnance ordered, and the magazine replenished with a bountiful supply of ammunition. On the arrival of the first cargo of stamps in the harbor, toward the end of October, placards were posted up in the streets and at the Merchants' Coffee-house, of which the following is a copy:

"PRO PATRIA.

"The first man that either distributes or makes use of stamp paper, let him take care of his house, person, and effects.

"VOX POPULI.

"WE DARE."

Terrified at signs he could not misunderstand, the Lieutenant-Governor had the stamps conveyed, for greater security, to the fort, and in great trepidation summoned the members of his privy council for their advice. But notwithstanding he sent repeated messages, and notwithstanding, also, that seven members were in the city, only three (Horsmanden, Smith, and Reid) responded to his

call, and they declined giving any advice unless there was a fuller Board. In this state of affairs, nothing was left to Colden but to shut himself up in the fort and await the result. He was not long in suspense.

On the 1st of November, the day appointed for the Stamp Act to go into operation, the popular indignation, which had been so long smoldering, burst forth. Early in the evening, the Sons of Liberty, numbering several thousand, appeared before the fort and demanded the stamps. On being refused, they proceeded to the open fields—a portion of which is now the Park—and, having erected a gibbet, they hanged the Lieutenant-Governor in effigy, and suspended by his side a figure, holding in his hand a boot, representing Lord Bute.* The images, after hanging some little time, were taken down and carried, together with the scaffold, in a torch-light procession to the gates of the fort. Having in vain knocked on the gates for admission, the mob broke into Colden's carriage-house, brought forth the family-coach, placed inside of it the two effigies, and, having again paraded them around the city, returned to within one hundred yards of the fort-gate, and hanged the figures upon a second gallows erected for that purpose. A bonfire was then made of part of the wooden fence, which, at that time, surrounded the Bowling Green; and the effigies, together with the Lieutenant-Governor's coach, a single-horse chair, two sleighs, and several light vehicles, were cast into the flames and

* Colden, it is true, in a letter under date of November 5th to Secretary Conway, says that the image suspended by the side of his effigy was intended to represent the devil, in which Bancroft follows him. In a manuscript letter, however, now before me, written by Alexander Colden, his son, to Sir William Johnson, a month after, and when the facts, therefore, could be better ascertained, the excitement having partially subsided, the writer says that the second image was designed for *Lord Bute*. The *boot* has now significance as a *rebus* of Lord Bute which before it had not. "His Lordship's [John Stewart, Earl of Bute] established type with the mob was a jack-boôt, a wretched pun on his Christian name and title."—*Macaulay's Essay on the Earl of Chatham*.

entirely consumed. While the flames were lighting up the black muzzles of the guns of the fort, another party, having spiked the cannon on the Battery, proceeded to the house of Major James, an artillery officer, who had made himself especially obnoxious by his having aided in putting the fort in a suitable posture for defense, and, having burned everything of value, returned in triumph, bringing with them the colors of the Royal Artillery Regiment.

When McEvers resigned, Colden had sneered; but even he was now compelled to give way. The day after the riot, he caused a large placard to be posted up, signed by Goldsbrow Banyar, the deputy-secretary of the council, stating that he should have nothing more to do with the stamps, but would leave them with Sir Henry Moore, Bart., who was then on his way from England to assume the government. This declaration, however, did not satisfy the Sons of Liberty. Through their leader, Isaac Sears, they insisted that the stamped paper should be immediately delivered into their hands, threatening, in case of a refusal, to storm the fort where it was deposited. The Common Council, alarmed at the uncontrollable fury of the mob, and fearing an effusion of blood, added, likewise, their solicitation that the stamps might be deposited in the City Hall. In answer to this latter request, the cause of the dispute was delivered up, after considerable negotiation, to the corporation — the Board giving a pledge to make good all the stamps that might be lost.

But if the spirit of the mob could not be subdued, it might at least be guided. On the 6th of November, a meeting of the more conservative citizens was called, and Sears, with four others,* was authorized to correspond with several colonies upon the new and alarming feature

* These were John Lamb, Gershom Mott, William Wiley, and Thomas Robinson.

of the prerogative of Parliament. The committee thus appointed entered into their work with zeal, the fruits of which soon became apparent. A resolution, emanating from New York and adopted by the other colonies, directed the English merchants to ship no more goods to America, and declared that no more goods coming from England should be sold on commission in the colonies after the first day of January, 1766. Nor did the patriotism of the people end here. The wearing of cloth of British manufacture was dispensed with, coarse home-spun garments taking its place. Marriages were no longer performed by licenses, upon which the Stamp Act had now laid duty, but were solemnized by being proclaimed in church. Everywhere resistance to kingly oppression was the watch-word.

The new Governor, Sir Henry Moore, Bart., who had been appointed, in June, to succeed Major-General Monckton, arrived in New York the beginning of November,

1765. 1765, after a tedious passage of ten weeks. When

he first landed, he was disposed to assume a haughty tone in relation to the Stamp Act. The Corporation offered him the freedom of the city in a gold box; but he refused to accept it, unless upon stamped paper. The custom-house cleared vessels, but the men-of-war ran out their guns and refused to allow them to leave the harbor, unless they produced a certificate from the Governor that no stamps were to be had. This the latter declined to give, and the vessels remained at the wharves. The spectacle, however, of Colden quaking with fear in the fort, and the judicious advice of his council, soon convinced him of the folly of any attempt to carry the act into execution; and, before his first meeting with the Assembly, he openly announced that he had suspended his power to execute the Stamp Act. To still further appease the people, he dismantled the fort, very much to the

disgust of the Lieutenant-Governor, who, not having been consulted, retired in chagrin to his country-seat at Flushing.

Owing to the successive adjournments by Colden, the General Assembly met, for the first time this year, on the 13th of November. Only fourteen members, however, answering to their names, the speaker announced the appointment of Sir Henry Moore to the government, and adjourned the Assembly to the 19th.

The severest test, perhaps, of public opinion at this time, is to be found in the Governor's opening address, which was brief and general, and contained not the slightest allusion to the existing troubles. The answer of the House was equally guarded; each party seeming to be averse to broach a topic that was so unpleasant to the other. But if the Assembly were unwilling to allude in their address to that which was now upon every mind, they showed no indisposition to handle it among themselves. Among their first resolutions was one, not only approving the action of the committee in meeting with the Congress in October, but tendering them, also, their warmest thanks for the part which they had taken in the deliberations of that body. In connection with this resolution, they further resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "that for obtaining relief from the operation and execution of the Act of Parliament called the Stamp Act, humble petitions be presented to his Majesty, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, as nearly similar to those drawn up by the late Congress as the particular circumstances of the colony will admit of." A committee was therefore appointed to draw up the three petitions, which, signed by William Nicholl, the speaker, were forwarded, in the name of the House, to Charles and John Sargeant, the colony's agents in London.

But the action of the Assembly did not keep pace with

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the public requirements; at least so thought the Sons of Liberty. On the 26th, a sealed letter was handed by an unknown person to Mr. Lott, clerk of the House, directed "TO MR. LOTT, MERCH'T. IN NEW YORK," and ran as follows:

"On receiving you are to read the in closed in the open Assembly of this Province New York as you are clark and whare of fail not on your perrel.

(Signed)

"FREEDOM."

The inclosed letter was directed "*To the General Assembly of the Province of New York,*" and was in the following words:

"Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, you are to Consider what is to be Done first Drawing of as much money from the Lieut. Governor's Salery as will Repare the fort & on Spike the Guns on the Battery & the nex a Repeal of the Gunning Act & then there will be a good Militia but not before & also as you are asetting you may Consider of the Building Act as it is to take place nex yeare which it Cannot for there is no supply of Some Sort of materials Required this Law is not Ground on Reasons but there is a great many Reasons to the Contrary so Gentlemen we desire you will Do what lays in your power for the Good of the public but if you take this ill 'be not so Conceited as to Say or think that other People know nothing about Government you have made their laws and say they are Right but they are Rong and take a way Leberty. Oppressions of your make Gentlemen make us Sons of Liberty think you are not for the Public Liberty this is the General Opinion of the People for this part of Your Conduct.

"1765

"by order

"Sign'd, one & all.

"Nov'r 26

"FREEDOM."

Both of these letters—which, by the way, bear on their face unmistakable evidence of their being designedly written in this illiterate manner, probably for the greater disguise*—were laid before the House by the clerk, who dared not refuse. But the Assembly were not disposed to have any such gratuitous advice; nor was their patriotism yet attuned to the same accord with that of the writer. However much, moreover, they might be disposed, themselves, to criticise the unpopular Colden, they did not choose to be instructed by the ironical suggestion in rela-

* The entire absence of punctuation in the same letter, with the correct abbreviations of *Sign'd* and *Nov'r*, and the correct spelling of the more difficult words, show clearly the marks of design.

tion to the Lieutenant-Governor's salary and the spiked guns. They therefore resolved that the said letters were rebellious, scandalous, and seditious; that they were designed to inflame the minds of the good people of the colony against their representatives; and that an address should be presented to the Governor requesting him to offer a reward of fifty pounds for their author or authors, that they might be brought to "condign punishment;" pledging themselves, at the same time, to provide the means of defraying the above reward.

On the 3d of December, the Governor, by Mr. Banyar, sent down a message to the House, in which the latter was informed that by the Mutiny Act, passed during the last session of Parliament, the expense of furnishing the King's troops in America with quarters and other necessities, was to be defrayed by the several colonies. In consequence thereof, the Commander-in-Chief had demanded that provision be made for the troops, whether quartered within or marching through the province; and it was now requested to make provision accordingly.

This request was at this time exceedingly inopportune. It involved a question which, in Lord Loudon's time—when the country was engaged in a disastrous war, and when, therefore, there was a seeming necessity for such provision—had been productive of ill feeling, and almost of riots. It may readily be seen, therefore, that when no such necessity existed, and when the public mind was in such an excited state, the Assembly were in no mood to comply. The message was accordingly referred to a committee of the whole House, of which Robert R. Livingston was the chairman. On the 19th, they reported against it, on the following grounds: that when his majesty's forces were quartered in barracks belonging to the King, they were always furnished with necessities without any expense to the counties in which they were quartered;

and that if any expense were necessary for quartering troops on their march, and supplying them with what was required by the act, the House would consider thereof after the expense was incurred. Sir Henry Moore was too prudent a man to press the matter further; and having satisfied his duty to the Crown by the formal demand for quarters, he allowed the matter to drop for the present.

The Sons of Liberty were still in the ascendant. The last week in November, two hundred of them crossed over to Flushing, and compelled the Maryland stamp-distributor, who had fled thither for safety, to sign a resignation of his office. In December, ten boxes of stamps were seized on their arrival in port, and consumed in a bonfire. "We are in a shocking situation at present," wrote Alexander Colden to Sir William Johnson, with whom the former was on terms of intimacy, "and God knows how it will end. Its not safe for a person to speak, for there is no knowing friend from foe."

Opposition to the Stamp Act still continued. In January, 1766, a committee from the Sons of Liberty waited upon six persons in Albany, and requested them to take an oath that they would not accept the office of stamp-distributor. All but Henry Van Schaack, the Albany postmaster, having complied, the mob went to the latter's house, a little below the city, broke the windows, furniture, and the piazza, and taking his pleasure-sleigh into town, consumed it in a bonfire. Alarmed at these demonstrations, Van Schaack took the required oath, and the mob dispersed.

In New York city, the committee (Isaac Sears, chairman) were still active. Having ascertained by their secret agents in Philadelphia that a merchant, Lewis Pintard, had sent to that city a Mediterranean pass and a bond on stamped paper, they waited upon the merchant, and also upon the naval officer who had given the pass,

on the 12th of January; and, compelling them to appear on the common, forced them to swear, before a crowd of eight thousand people, that the passes which they had signed and delivered were not stamped, to their knowledge. Not satisfied, however, with this declaration, the committee conducted them to the Coffee-house, before which a bonfire had been kindled, and obliged Pintard to commit the passes to the flames with his own hands. On the following day, Governor Moore, who, being of a timid and amiable nature, had a dread of becoming unpopular, sent for one of the committee, and said, in the course of the conversation, that he hoped the "gentlemen, his associates," did not suspect him of being cognizant of the Mediterranean passes. Upon being informed that they did not, the Governor further stated that he had solicited this interview to assure the Sons of Liberty that, not only was he ignorant of that transaction, but that he would have nothing to do with any stamps whatever.

Alarmed at the rapid growth of republican principles in America, the seeds of which had been sown by its own folly, Parliament, on the 18th of March, repealed the obnoxious act. The British Legislature, however, yielded not with a good grace. "The colonists," wrote Sir William Baker to Sir William Johnson, "must not think that these lenient methods were brought about by the inducements of their violence."* Fearing, therefore, that their action would be misconstrued, Parliament hastened, almost simultaneously with the repeal of the Stamp Act, to pass a bill declaring the absolute right of the King and Parliament

* "I hope the last session of Parliament has conciliated the North Americans to their mother country; but at the same time it must be expected from them obedience to the laws of this government. The colonists must not think these lenient methods made use of by that administration were brought about by the inducement of their violence; but was really the effect of conviction that the rash act past the two preceding sessions was unwarrantable and oppressive."—*M. S.; Sir William Baker to Johnson, Nov 7th, 1766.*

"to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever."

In the first delirium of delight at the repeal, the news of which was communicated to the colonists by their agents, on the 16th of May, the tendency of the Declaratory Act was not heeded. In New York city, especially, the populace seemed wild with joy. Bells were rung, a royal salute of twenty-one guns fired, and the city illuminated. On the 4th of June, the King's birthday, the Governor had an ox roasted whole, a hogs-head of rum and twenty-five barrels of beer opened, and the people invited to join in the feast. On the same day, a mast was erected, inscribed "To his most Gracious Majesty, George the Third, Mr. Pitt, and Liberty." But the enthusiasm of the people did not end here. On the 23d of June, a meeting was held, at which a petition was signed by a majority of the citizens, requesting the Assembly to erect a statue of William Pitt, as a mark of their appreciation of his services in repealing the Stamp Act. That body entered fully into the feelings of the people; and, besides complying with the wishes of their constituents, in relation to Pitt, they made provision for an equestrian statue to his majesty George the Third; and also voted their thanks and a piece of plate to John Sargeant, "for his services as special agent," during the Stamp Act controversy.

The opening speech of Governor Moore to the Assembly, on the 12th of June, began by adverting to the general satisfaction diffused among the people by the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was the impression made on the minds of the people by this act of his majesty's favor that had induced the Governor, so early, to call the Legislature, in order to give them the earliest opportunity of making those acknowledgments of duty and submission which, on such an occasion, his excellency thought must

arise in the bosom of every individual. It then spoke of the impositions upon the credulity of the people by the misrepresentations of artful and designing men. "Let it be your concern," it continued, "to undeceive the deluded, and, by your example, bring back to a sense of their duty those who have been misled, that nothing which can carry with it the least resemblance of former heat and prejudice may be suffered to prevail, and the minds of those who are too easily agitated be again disposed to a cheerful obedience to the laws, and to sentiments of respectful gratitude to the mother country." Their attention was next directed to the care of those unfortunate persons who had suffered from the "licentiousness of the populace for their deference to the British Legislature," and they were requested to make full and ample compensation for the goods and effects of the sufferers that had been destroyed. This latter suggestion was owing to circular letters from the minister to the provincial governors, requesting the colonial Assemblies to show their "respectful gratitude for the forbearance of Parliament," by indemnifying those who had suffered injury in attempting to execute the late act. In connection with the opening speech, petitions were handed in by Lieutenant-Governor Colden and Major James, praying the Assembly to make good their losses by the recent riots. These petitions were thereupon referred to a committee of the whole House, who reported favorably upon the claims of Major James, but passed over in silence those of the Lieutenant-Governor—very much to the chagrin of the latter, who forthwith wrote a letter to Conway, begging him to lay his case before the King, that his losses might be recompensed by a pension.

The Governor now ventured again to request of the Assembly its compliance with the demands of the Ministry in relation to the quartering of troops, a large body of whom was shortly expected from England. But although

the House had joined with the council in an humble address to the King, thanking him for the repeal of the Stamp Act, and although, moreover, it was perfectly willing to vote statutes to his majesty and William Pitt, it was no more disposed to comply with this demand, now that Parliament had yielded to its wishes, than it was at the previous session, when the Stamp Act was in full force. The House accordingly voted a series of resolutions similar in tone to those passed November, 1765, and postponed further discussion on the subject until the troops had arrived. A second message, however, from Sir Henry Moore, induced it to alter its determination so far as to state that the appropriations of 1762 were at his disposal, and might be applied toward providing barracks, firewood, and candles, for two battalions and one company of artillery, for one year. Beyond this, however, it would not go; and the Governor, while he was obliged to be content with this decision, wrote at the same time to the Lords of Trade, that its partial compliance was more the result of compulsion than of gratitude for recent favors; and that, in his opinion, every act of Parliament, unless backed by a sufficient power to enforce it, would meet with the same fate.

Meanwhile, troubles had arisen in Dutchess county, which, although in no way connected with the issues between the colonies and the mother country, at first threatened serious consequences. In the beginning of 1766, the Stockbridge Indians, feeling aggrieved by the intrusions, as they claimed, of some of the people of Dutchess upon their lands, broke into the houses of the alleged trespassers, and turned their families out of doors. As is generally the case on such occasions, several of the vagabond class of whites, very ready for a fray, joined the rioters, and committed acts of violence throughout the

country. The excitement now extended into Albany County; and the mob, now grown to formidable dimensions, threatened to attack New York city, and, indeed, actually began their march thither. In this exigency, General Gage (at that time commander-in-chief of his majesty's troops in America) ordered up, to meet the insurgents, the Twenty-eighth regiment, which had just arrived from England. The appearance of the troops soon brought the rioters to reason; and having succeeded—though not without bloodshed—in restoring order, they returned to New York with the chief ringleaders of the rebellion.

“In 1766, the Methodist denomination was first organized in the city by Philip Einbury and others; and in 1767, the first church of this sect was erected upon the site of the present one in John, near Nassau Street, and, like it, christened Wesley Chapel. In the same year, also, the first medical school was established, which eventually became the New-York Hospital. Several new streets were opened about the same time—among others, Cliff Street and Park Place. For the better prevention of fires, an ordinance was passed directing that all the roofs in the city should be covered with slate or tiles. For some years, however, tiles alone were used, the first building roofed with slate being, it is said, the City Hotel, in Broadway, erected about 1794.”

The joyous feelings which had followed the repeal of the Stamp Act were not of long continuance. Hardly had the first gratulations of victory passed and sober reflection taken their place, when the Declaratory Act, in all its ominous proportions, loomed up, overshadowing the public mind with gloomy forebodings. The persistent attempt, moreover, to force the province into a compliance with the Mutiny Act—an act which, to thinking men, seemed

intended to provide the nucleus of a standing army—alarmed all classes; and secret leagues were at once formed in most of the colonies, the object of which was to further union of counsel in resisting oppression. The partial compliance of the Assembly with the requisition of the Governor for quarters had been exceedingly distasteful to the Sons of Liberty, who, upon the arrival of the troops, made no disguise of their feelings. Mutual animosities accordingly arose between the citizens and soldiery, which soon culminated in open acts of hostility. On the 10th of August, 1766, some of the troops, exasperated at the people, to whose influence they attributed the action of the Assembly in depriving them of liquor, cut down the flag-staff, which, with so much apparent unanimity, had been dedicated to "Pitt and Liberty." The following evening, while the citizens were preparing to re-erect the pole, they were assaulted by the soldiers with drawn bayonets, and several of them, among whom was Isaac Sears, were wounded. Governor Moore, who heartily wished the troops away, attempted, with General Gage, to restrain these outrages, and, to some extent, succeeded; but the officers, intent upon gratifying their private malice, winked at the conduct of their men, who, thus encouraged, became more violent than ever. Several dwellings of the poorer class, situated in the suburbs of the city, were broken into on the 23d of October; and, on the 3d day of November, the domestic sanctuary of an honest drayman was entered by a soldier, who, while he wounded its occupant, hesitated not to hamstring his horse, upon which he relied for his daily bread.

These licentious proceedings were not calculated to dispose the Assembly any more favorably to the attempt to quarter the obnoxious red-coats at their expense. Accordingly, when, on the 17th of November, Governor Moore laid before that body instructions from the Minister in-

forming them of the King's displeasure at their conduct, their absolute duty to obey the acts of Parliament, and of his wish that provision for the troops should be immediately made, they refused outright to make further provision, choosing to interpret the act as referring solely "to soldiers on the march." On this refusal, Governor Moore waited upon the House, and endeavored to prevail upon them to alter their determination. His efforts, however, were unavailing; and having, by the defiant attitude thus assumed, no other alternative left, he prorogued the Assembly on the 19th of December.

Already the British Cabinet regretted the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the project of taxing America was again resumed. The extravagant demonstrations of delight manifested by the colonists at the repeal had been regarded by British statesmen with ill-concealed disgust; and when, in May, 1767, the news was received that Georgia, following the example of 1767. New York, had also declined obedience to the Mutiny Act, the chagrin at having yielded became open and undisguised. Accordingly, in the same month, Townshend introduced a bill into the House of Commons, imposing a duty on all paper, glass, tea, and painters' colors, imported into the colonies. In its passage through Parliament, the bill met with scarcely any opposition; and, on the 28th of June, it received the cordial assent and signature of the King. This was shortly followed by another, "to establish Commissioners of Customs in America," and also by one "to compensate the stamp-officers who had been deprived by the people." But by far the most important in its consequences was another, which received the royal assent on the 29th, and which declared that the *functions of the Assembly of New York were henceforth annulled*—the Governor and council being forbidden to give their assent to any act passed by that body, "until the Mutiny Act

was unequivocally acknowledged and submitted to." The rebellious people of the colonies, said the authors of this act, must be brought to unqualified submission, and the supremacy of Parliament be maintained.

This latter act—by far the deadliest blow that had yet been struck at their liberties—excited the utmost consternation throughout the American provinces. It was at once seen that if Parliament could, at pleasure, disfranchise a sister colony, the same fate might, at any time, overtake the others. "This act," wrote Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, "hangs like a flaming sword over our heads, and requires, by all means, to be removed." The citizens of Boston, sympathizing deeply with the people of New York, expressed, in no measured terms, their indignation at what they styled ministerial tyranny. Tyranny it indeed was, and of the most inexcusable kind, inasmuch as it was not, as some have supposed, a tyranny into which the British Ministry were led blindly, or through ignorance of the consequences. "It is strange," says an elegant English writer, "that the British Government should not have been apprehensive of the great and increasing danger in which its colonial dominion was involved."* It is not strange. The British Government did it with open eyes, and clearly foresaw the results toward which its colonial policy was fast tending; for while, in the spring of this year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was pushing forward his schemes of taxation, General Gage was putting Fort George, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point on a thorough war footing; and Carleton, the Lieutenant-Governor of Canada, was adding new defenses to Quebec. "These measures," wrote the latter to the Commander-in-Chief, "will link these two provinces—New York and Quebec—so strongly together as will add great security to both, and will facilitate the transfer of

* Graham.

ten or fifteen thousand men, in the beginning of a war, from one to another, as circumstances may require;" and in the same letter the writer suggests that a "place of arms" should be immediately established in New York, "for," he adds, "no pains, address, nor expense, is too great, that will give security to the King's magazines; divide the Northern and Southern colonies; and afford an opportunity of transporting our forces into any part of the continent."

The Assembly having expired by its septennial limitation on the 6th of February, 1768, writs were issued for a new election, returnable on the 22d of the following month. Owing, however, to the Governor having no special business to lay before the House, the new Assembly was not convened until the 27th of October. The opening speech of the Governor related chiefly to the Indian trade, which his majesty had been pleased henceforward to confide to the colonies. "The advantages," said the Governor, "arising, not only from the intercourse of trade with the Indians, but from the maintenance of that tranquility among them which subsists at present, are so obvious as to require no arguments to enforce them. I shall, therefore, only recommend to you that, to avoid any future cause of dissatisfaction or jealousy being given, you will, by the most effectual laws, prevent any settlements being made beyond the line which shall be agreed on by the Indians." In its reply, on the 3d of November, the House expressed its willingness to co-operate with the Governor in any measures for the better regulation of the Indian trade; and, indeed, for the first two weeks of the session, nothing occurred to ruffle the general harmony of its proceedings. The critical posture of the province to the mother country, however, forbade that this state of quiescence should be lasting; and it was not

long before a direct issue arose between the Governor and his Assembly.

The right of Parliament to tax America was still discussed with great freedom in all the colonies, but in none with more vigor than in Massachusetts. In February, the Assembly of that province had addressed a circular letter, drafted by Samuel Adams, to her sister colonies, in which the "great evils to which the inhabitants of America were subjected from the operation of several acts of Parliament imposing taxes upon them," were set forth, and their co-operation solicited in obtaining redress. This proceeding, as may readily be imagined, gave great offense to the Ministry; and Lord Hillsborough forthwith addressed a letter upon the subject to the several colonial Governors, requesting that their Assemblies should treat the circular letter with silent contempt. But the resentment of the mother country toward Massachusetts was not satisfied. It was determined to still further disgrace her, by detaching a strong military force to occupy her capital. The rumor that such a step was meditated by the Crown caused considerable comment; and when, on the 28th of September, two British regiments, accompanied by seven men-of-war, arrived at Boston from Halifax, the indignation, not only in Massachusetts, but in those colonies that sympathized with her, became intense. In Connecticut, numerous town-meetings were held, in which it was resolved, first, "to seek the Lord, by general fasting, prayer, and humiliation, and then to call a convention of ninety-two persons, to determine what was to be done in the present difficulties and distress." In New York city, especially, the Sons of Liberty felt deeply the indignity offered to their sister colony; and, in their first ebullition of anger, indignation meetings were held, and Governor Bernard and his sheriff burned in effigy.

Such was the state of public sentiment, when, on the 14th of November, Sir Henry Moore laid before the House the Earl of Hillsborough's letter forbidding correspondence with Massachusetts, and called upon it to render a cheerful obedience to the wishes of the Secretary. This action of the Governor was met by a warm remonstrance from the Assembly; and when, a few days after, the former threatened to dissolve it, in case of its not complying, it unhesitatingly refused obedience. The bold stand thus assumed was warmly seconded by public opinion, as appears conspicuously in the newspapers and private correspondence of the day. A series of articles, which had recently appeared under the title of "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies," had paved the way for a fearless utterance against ministerial oppression. "Let these truths," said the leaders of the people in New York, "be indelibly impressed upon our minds, that we cannot be free without being secure in our property; that we cannot be secure in our property if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away; that taxes imposed by Parliament do thus take it away; that duties, laid for the sole purpose of raising money, are taxes; and that attempts to lay such should be instantly and firmly opposed."

While, however, the Assembly was thus firm in maintaining its constitutional rights and privileges, it evinced no disposition to countenance acts of lawless violence; and, in reply to a message from the Governor on the 23d, asking its aid in bringing to punishment the ringleaders in a recent riot, it reported a series of resolutions which distinctly set forth, that, although it felt deeply the course of Parliament toward them, yet, so far from approving of any violent proceedings, it would on all occasions endeavor to support the dignity and authority of government. The riot to which allusion is here made, had occurred on the

14th of November, and had been the result of new exactions, by way of imposts, of the Parliament upon the colonies; and while the reply of the House, as intimated, strongly censured the rioters, yet it also condemned the new duties in terms equally severe. This address gave little satisfaction to the representative of the Crown; and on the last day of the year it was followed by a series of strong constitutional resolutions, among which was one declaring that it was the opinion of the committee "that the House had an undoubted right to correspond and consult with any of the neighboring colonies on any matter, subject, or thing whatever, whereby they should conceive the rights and liberties of the House to be in any way affected."

These resolutions gave high displeasure; and Sir Henry Moore, having convened the Assembly in the City

Hall on the afternoon of the 3d of January, 1769, dissolved it by a speech of evident irritation, yet of affected regret and sorrow at the occasion demanding the summary measure. Writs for a new election were immediately issued, returnable on the 14th of February. The people, however, sustained the action of their representatives, and all the former members, with the exception of six, were returned by overwhelming majorities. Such was the result of the first direct appeal of the Crown to the people on the subject of the great constitutional principles of liberty, which were now beginning to agitate the political waters to their deepest fountains.

Notwithstanding, however, the fact that most of the old members were returned, the election was hotly contested. "I hear," wrote Sir William Johnson, jocularly, to a friend in New York, "that you are likely to have a hot election, and probably there will be work for shillalahs." Nor was the writer far out in his conjecture. At no time for many years had the excitement been more

intense, and every means and device was made use of to secure votes. In New York city, especially, the contest was between the church party and the dissenters*—the former being led by the De Lanceys, and the latter by the Livingstons. "It is surprising," writes Peter Van Schaak to his brother Henry, under date of January 27th, 1769, "what trifles can be turned to the greatest advantage in elections, and be made to captivate the passions of the vulgar. A straw, a fire-brand, have severally answered this purpose in a recent instance. It was said, during the last election, that T. Smith had said that the Irish were poor beggars, and had come over here upon a bunch of straw. The whole body of Irishmen immediately joined, and appeared with straws in their hats. Mr. Kissam, who summed up the evidence for Mr. Scott in the late charge against Mr. Jauncey, happened to say that the passions of the Germans were fire-brands. A whole congregation were, in consequence of that, resolved to vote with them in their hands; but, being dissuaded, they, however, distinguished themselves by the name of the *Fire-brands*. These gentlemen have also made themselves remarkable by a song in the German language, the chorus of which is:

"Maester Cruger, De Lancey,
Maester Walton and Jauncey."

"'Twas droll to see some of the first gentlemen in town joining in singing these songs, while they conducted the members to the Coffee-house." "I arrived here St. John's Day," writes another person, at the same time, from New York to a friend, "when there was a grand procession of the whole Masonic fraternity, and a

* And not between the lawyers and the merchants as such, as stated by Miss Booth. This writer also makes the prorogation of the Assembly, by Governor Moore, occur in 1768, a year previous. This is, however, probably a typographical error.

very excellent sermon preached by Dr. Auchmuty, at Trinity church, on the occasion. At the same time a collection was made for the city, which I think amounted to £200. Would you think it, but it is true, that the Presbyterians immediately labored to convert this charitable affair to the disadvantage of the Church of England and



THE OLD WALTON HOUSE.

the part which they take in the election ensuing? Will. Smith and W. Livingston got an old rascally sermon, called 'MASONRY, THE SURE GUIDE TO HELL,' reprinted, and distributed it with great assiduity, * * and there is this day an extraordinary Lodge held on the occasion, in order to consult means to resent the affront." The church party, having the support of the mercantile and

Masonic interests, was triumphant; and John Cruger, James De Lancey, Jacob Walton, and James Jauncey, were elected by the city.

On the 4th of April, 1769, the new Assembly met. John Cruger was immediately chosen speaker, and it was not long before another proof was afforded of the strength of the church party in the House. "The De Lancey interest," wrote Hugh Wallace, a member of the council, to Sir William Johnson, "prevails in the House greatly, and they have given the Livingston interest proof of it by dismissing P. Livingston the House as a non-resident." The Livingstons, however, were not entirely crushed, for the same writer adds: "It is said he will be returned again and again, and so become another Wilkes."

The opening speech of Governor Moore contained not the remotest reference to the difficulties which had caused the recent dissolution, but referred only to the manner in which the colony's agent in London was appointed; a mode which his excellency thought objectionable, he being of the opinion that the appointment of an agent should be made by an act of the Governor, Council, and Assembly, specially passed for that purpose, as had formerly been the case. The change in the manner of appointing the colonial agent was first introduced during the administration of Governor Clinton, in 1747, in the appointment of Robert Charles, without the former's privity or consent. Clinton complained bitterly at the time of the innovation, but without effect; it was, therefore, not likely that the Assembly, having had their own way in this matter for upward of twenty years, would now yield. Accordingly, in their reply, they utterly declined adopting the mode which his excellency had recommended. This, of course, gave great dissatisfaction to the Governor, who, on the 20th of May, prorogued the Assembly to the month of July; not, however, until

that body had voted, with a very ill grace, £1,800 for the support of his majesty's troops quartered in the colony.

The death of Sir Henry Moore, on the 11th of September, 1769, threw a gloom over the entire city. His polished manners, courteous address, and genial disposition had endeared him to many in the colony. Although forced oftentimes, as the representative of the Crown, to come in collision with the popular sentiment, yet such occasions were evidently so distasteful to him that many who were his bitter political enemies regarded him with cordial good-will. By his death, the reins of government fell, for the third time, into the hands of Doctor Colden, who, as Lieutenant-Governor, opened the fall session of the Assembly on the 22d of November.

Appearances seemed to indicate a stormy session. Massachusetts had just passed a series of spirited resolutions against the military and naval force stationed at her capital. The Assembly of Virginia, late in the spring, had been dissolved by the new Governor, Lord Botetourt, for its presumption in sending Massachusetts words of encouragement and support. The refusal, moreover, of the House of Commons, in March, to receive the representative of the New York Assembly, excited the apprehensions of those of the colonists who had hitherto been warmly attached to the Crown. "I must confess," wrote Sir William Johnson, in September, "that the aspect of affairs at home is very displeasing, and ought to give concern to every well-wisher of his country, because, whatever reason or justice there may be in the late steps, there is a probability of their being carried further than a good man can wish for."

Contrary, however, to general expectation, during the fall and winter session, there were no collisions between the Executive and the Legislature, although the spirited resolutions of Virginia, of the preceding May, were unani-

mously concurred in. On the first day of the session, a bill was introduced for emitting one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in bills of credit, to be put out on loan, as a means of revenue. The bill was at first hailed with delight by the leaders of the popular party, who thought they discerned in it a desire, on the part of the Executive, to gratify the wish of the people. When, however, it was followed, on the 15th of December, by a motion to grant two thousand pounds for the support of his majesty's troops in the colony, which sum was to be taken out of the interest arising from the loan bill, when it should become a law, a complete revulsion of feeling took place; and they now saw only an attempt, on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor, to compel the Assembly into an unconditional submission to the Mutiny Act. Accordingly, the first sight that greeted the citizens on the morning of the 17th was a flaming placard, posted up in the most conspicuous portions of the city, addressed "TO THE BETRAYED INHABITANTS OF THE CITY AND COLONY OF NEW YORK," and signed "A SON OF LIBERTY." This placard declared that the granting of money to the troops was implicitly acknowledging the authority that had enacted the revenue acts, which had been passed for the express purpose of taking money out of the pockets of the colonists without their consent; that what made the granting of money the more grievous was, that it went to the support of troops kept, not to protect, but to enslave them; that this was the view taken of the Mutiny Act by the Assemblies of Massachusetts and South Carolina—therefore, let not the Assembly of New York tell their disgrace in Boston, nor publish it in the streets of Charleston! The Assembly, moreover, had not been attentive to the liberties of this continent, nor to the prosperity of the good people of this colony. This sacrifice of the public interest it attributed to a corrupt source which it scrupled not to affirm,

in plain words, was an infamous coalition recently entered into between the Executive and the De Lancey family for this very object. In conclusion, the placard advised all the people to assemble the following day in "the fields" (the Park), there to express their sentiments upon a point so vital to colonial liberty.

The large concourse of people gathered in "the fields" at the time appointed, clearly showed how in unison with the public feeling were the sentiments uttered in the placard of the previous day. The object of the gathering was set forth by John Lamb, one of the most prominent of the Sons of Liberty, and the question asked, whether the citizens would uphold the recent action of the Assembly. The emphatic "No" that at once arose from the vast throng was a sufficient answer to this question; and a committee of seven were immediately appointed to carry this public expression of feeling to the Legislature. But however much that body may have regretted their partial committal to the loan bill, they did not choose to be dictated to by a meeting which they considered little better than a mob. Accordingly, the consideration of the placard having been made the first order of the following day, James De Lancey moved that "the sense of the House should be taken whether the said paper was not an infamous and scandalous libel." The question being put, all the members voted in the affirmative, except Colonel Schuyler, who, when his name was called, with admirable moral courage, fearlessly answered in the negative. A series of resolutions was then passed condemning the paper as false, seditious, and infamous, and requesting the Lieutenant-Governor to offer a reward of one hundred pounds for its author or authors. Immediately after the passage of these resolutions, Mr. De Lancey laid before the House another hand bill, in which the late proceedings of that body were strongly condemned, signed "LEGION."

Resolves were at once passed, similar in tone to those just noticed, and an additional reward of fifty pounds offered for the writer of this also.

Nothing worthy of special mention occurred during the remainder of this session. John Lamb, it is true, three days after the passage of the resolutions, was arraigned before the House on suspicion of being the author of the libelous hand bill; but, nothing being proved against him, he was immediately discharged. The General Assembly having now been convened more than two months, and its members being now anxious to return to their homes, Lieutenant-Governor Colden signed several acts, among them one for appointing commissioners from the neighboring colonies, to agree upon a plan for regulating the Indian trade; and, on the 27th of January, 1770, prorogued it to the second Tuesday in March, and, from time to time afterward, to the 11th of December.

Meanwhile, the hatred between the soldiers and the Sons of Liberty daily gained strength. The former had long writhed under the undisguised disgust with which they were treated by the latter, and only waited for an opportunity to repay this scorn with interest. Hitherto they had been restrained, through motives of policy; and, now that the supplies were granted, they threw off all restraint, and resolved to insult their enemies in the most tender spot. Accordingly, on the 13th of January, a portion of the Sixteenth regiment attempted to destroy the liberty-pole, by sawing off its spars and blowing it up with gunpowder. A knot of citizens having gathered round while they were thus engaged, they desisted for the present from the attempt, and, charging upon the group with fixed bayonets, drove them into a tavern (kept by Montagne), a favorite resort of the Sons of Liberty, broke the windows, and demolished a portion of the furniture. Three days afterward, however, they

succeeded in their design; and having, on the night of the 16th, cut the obnoxious symbol in pieces, they piled its fragments in front of Montagne's door. Incensed at this daring insult, three thousand citizens assembled early the following morning at the scene of the outrage, and adopted, among others, a resolution that all soldiers found in the streets after roll-call "should be treated as enemies of the city;" mutually pledging themselves to see that this resolve was vigorously enforced. Early the next morning, insulting placards were found posted up in various parts of the city, ridiculing the resolutions of the previous day, and daring the citizens to carry them into execution. In the course of the day, three soldiers were discovered by Sears and others in the act of posting up more of these hand bills; and a skirmish ensuing, the citizens, having obtained the upper hand, were conducting the offenders to the office of the Mayor, when they were met by a band of twenty additional troops. A general fight with cutlasses and clubs now followed, the military slowly retreating to Golden Hill.* At this point they were met by a party of officers, who immediately ordered their men to the barracks, and the riot was quelled. In this brush, several citizens were wounded and one killed, although the soldiers were worsted. The following day witnessed a number of frays, none of which, however, were attended with loss of life; and on the 20th, the Mayor having issued a proclamation forbidding the soldiers to come out of the barracks unless accompanied by a non-commissioned officer, the excitement was quieted and order once more restored.† On the 5th of February another pole was

* John Street, between Cliff Street and Burling Slip.

† "We are all in confusion in this city; the soldiers have cut and blowed up the Liberty Pole, and have caused much trouble between the inhabitants. On Friday last, between Burling Slip and Fly Market was an engagement between the inhabitants and the soldiers, when much blood was spilt; one sailor

erected, inscribed "Liberty and Property," on ground purchased for the purpose, where it remained until cut down in 1776 by the British soldiery at that time occupying the city.

Meanwhile the Sons of Liberty were undaunted. In February, one hundred of them purchased of Colonel Morris a house for six hundred pounds—each of them contributing six pounds—in which to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act; and having, on the 19th of March, drank forty-five popular toasts, they proceeded to the jail, where Captain McDougall was confined for being the author of the libelous handbill of the previous December, saluted him with forty-five cheers, and quietly dispersed.

In Boston, the feeling between the citizens and soldiery was even more embittered. The news of the recent occurrences in New York was not calculated to soothe this mutual animosity; and when, on the 2d of March, an affray took place at Gray's rope-walk, between a citizen and a soldier, in which the latter was worsted, it required but a small degree of forecast to anticipate an approaching explosion. Three days afterward, on the evening of the 5th, a sentinel, who had wantonly abused a lad, was surrounded in King Street by a mob of boys, and pelted with snow-balls, made of the light snow that had just fallen. "They are killing the sentinel!" shouted a bystander to the main guard. Instantly a file of six soldiers, headed by a corporal and followed by Preston, the officer of the day, rushed to the rescue, at a double-quick

got run through the body, who since died; one man got his skull cut in the most cruel manner. On Saturday the Hall-bell rang for an alarm, when was another battle between the inhabitants and soldiers; but the soldiers met with rubbers, the chiefest part being sailors with clubs to revenge the death of their brother, which they did with courage, and made them all run to their barracks. What will be the end of this, God knows."—*Letter from "New York, Jan. 22d, 1770," in St. James Chronicle, or the British Evening Post, March 5th, 1770.*

step, with fixed bayonets. A crowd gathered round, and, the musket of a soldier being hit by a stick thrown from the throng, Preston gave the order to fire. Montgomery, the man whose musket had been hit, immediately fired; and Attucks, a mulatto, who had been quietly looking on, fell dead on the spot. Six others, thereupon, taking deliberate aim, fired in succession at the crowd, who were already beginning to disperse. Three of the citizens, including the mulatto, were instantly killed; and of eight others who were wounded, two died shortly afterward, from their injuries.

It has usually been asserted by historians, that the first blood in the war of the American Revolution was shed at Lexington; but such is not the fact. THE BATTLE OF GOLDEN HILL, on the 18th of January, 1770, was the beginning of that contest, so fearful in its commencement, so doubtful in its progress, and so splendid in its results. The storm had now been gathering for several years, and the public mind had become exceedingly feverish, not only in respect to the conduct of the parent Government, but in regard to the language and bearing of the officers of the Crown stationed in the colonies. The destruction of the liberty-pole increased the mutual exasperation; and the fight that followed was but the natural consequence. To the CITY OF NEW YORK, therefore, must ever be given the honor of *striking the first blow*. The town was thrown into commotion, the bells rang, and the news, with the exaggerations and embellishments incident to all occasions of alarm, spread through the country with the rapidity of lightning. Everywhere throughout the wide extent of the old thirteen colonies it created a strong sensation, and was received with a degree of indignant emotion which very clearly foretold that blood had only commenced flowing. The massacre in King Street, two months later, added intensity to the flame; and, although five years

intervened before the demonstration at Lexington, there were too many nervous pens and eloquent tongues in exercise to allow these feelings to subside, or the noble spirit of liberty that had been awakened to be quenched. "Such stirring orations as those of Joseph Warren were not uttered in vain; and often were the people reminded by him, or by his compatriots of kindred spirits—'The voice of your brethren's blood cries to you from the ground!' The admonition had its effect, and the resolutions of vengeance sank deeper and deeper, until the fullness of time should come!"

CHAPTER VII.

On the 18th of October, 1770, John, Earl of Dunmore, arrived in New York to occupy the gubernatorial chair, left vacant by the lamented Sir Henry Moore.

1770.

The new Governor is described, in a letter to Sir William Johnson, as "a very active man, fond of walking and riding, and a sportsman." This description affords a clue to the character of the man—easy in his disposition, and one who preferred the delights of the chase to controversies with his Legislature. There was little likelihood, however, of his being troubled with a body that had of late grown very subservient. The news, moreover, which he brought with him, of his majesty's consent to the bill authorizing the emission of a colonial currency, increased the spirit of loyalty; and when, in his opening speech on the 11th of December, he expressed his pleasure that the example of the loyal subjects of the province had been the means of restoring friendly feelings and confidence between the parent country and the colonists, the address of the Assembly, in reply, was a simple echo. During the entire

1771.

session, therefore, the wheels of government rolled smoothly; and at its close, on the 16th of February, 1771, the loan bill was passed, as was also the one for appropriating two thousand pounds for the support of the troops. The crown had seemingly triumphed; but the end was not yet.

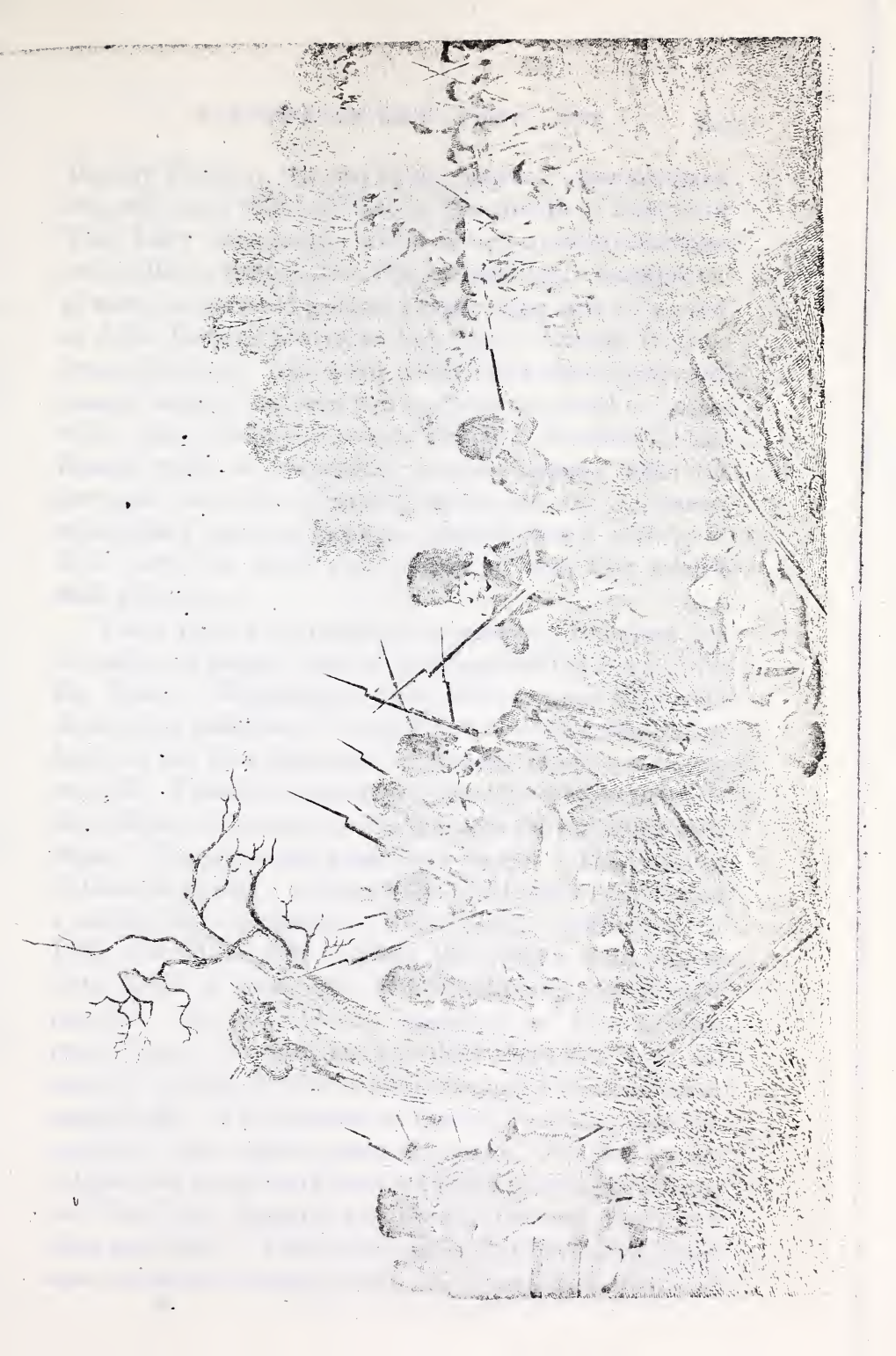
On the 8th of July, 1771, Sir William Tryon, Bart., having rendered himself odious to the people of North Carolina by his petty tyranny, arrived in New York, bearing his majesty's commission as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, in the place of Lord Dunmore, who was transferred to the government of Virginia.

The year 1771 was also marked by the founding of the New York Hospital. The first regular meeting, after its organization, was held on the 24th of July, 1771. The hospital began by the reception of lunatics, and patients who were suffering from small-pox and syphilis. Fractures and maniacs appeared together on the reports of diseases. In 1798, the governors announced that the hospital was, properly, an infirmary for the reception of such persons as require first, medical treatment; second, chirurgial management; third, for maniacs; and fourth, for lying-in women. Two hundred pounds were voted as the beginning of a library. The meetings of the governors were held for a long time at Bolton's tavern, or at the Coffee-house. Bolton's was celebrated for fifty years as a place of resort, like our modern Delmonico's, and was still better known as Sam Francis's tavern. Here Washington bade farewell to his officers, December 4th, 1783. The building is still standing on the south-east corner of Broad and Pearl Streets. The Coffee-house, sometimes called "The Merchants' Coffee-house," stood on the south-east corner of Wall and Water Streets, recently occupied by the *Journal of Commerce*. The slip near it was known as "Coffee-house Slip," at the foot of Wall Street. The meal or flour market was close by. The river then came up to Water Street. When the governors purchased the five acres on which they built in 1771 (a part of the Rutgers farm), the spot selected was upon a spur or hill, surrounded on three sides by marshes.

The water of two ponds, or "koleks," frequently over-

flowed meadows where now is the corner of Pearl and Chatham Streets, so that ferry-boats were used. Rutgers had suffered so lamentably with fever and ague that he had some years before prayed the King for a better title to his marshes, so that he might sell them to somebody willing to make drains, because the inhabitants lost one-third of their time by sickness. Governor George Clinton complained, in 1746, to the Duke of Newcastle, that his son had an ague and fever about ten months, which had worn him to nothing. Where the Astor House stands, there was, in 1780, an encampment of negro slaves who had been enticed by Lord Dunmore from Virginia. They died in large numbers of small-pox, and were buried where Stewart's store, corner of Broadway and Reade Street, now stands. John Quincy Adams saw New York in 1785 for the first time, and found the city had then but 18,000 inhabitants. He says that while he tarried at John Jay's, that gentleman was laying the foundation of a house on Broadway, a quarter of a mile from any other dwelling. Mr. Jay lived nearly opposite the hospital. In 1780, a duel was fought behind the hospital, as the most retired spot for the purpose. The cow-pastures extended from Grand Street down to the hospital, which adjoined the Raneleagh Gardens. Beyond St. Paul's church were fields, orchards, and swamps. G. W. P. Custis, who was a member of Washington's family while the President resided in New York, spoke of St. Paul's church as quite out of town, and of playing on a fine green common where the Park Theater stood.

William A. Duer, in his reminiscences that began after the war, in 1784, speaks of having often passed on skates from the "kolck" under the bridge at Broadway and Canal Street; and, pursuing the outlet to the meadows, he would proceed over them to the north beyond Hudson Square, and to the south as far as Duane Street, then



Barclay Street, in the rear of the hospital. Our predecessors were men who had faith in the growth of New York. They knew that malaria would disappear with drainage; and so they ventured, in 1771, to build their hospital out of town, on elevated ground, having eight beds in a ward, as John Howard proved to be right, in Europe, fourteen years afterward. The lands purchased a century ago still remain unsold, and are not unlikely to yield a rental which may enable the society largely to increase its usefulness, while so responsible a trust imposes upon the governors the duty of careful inquiry into the manner of establishing the best possible hospital, for it will be in their power to afford every means of cure that science shall point out.

Three years were employed in selecting the place and choosing the proper kind of buildings for the Asylum for the Insane. "Beginning in July, 1815, various sites were chosen and abandoned. Long Island, Great Barren Island, lands on the East River and on Harlem Heights, were examined. Twenty-six reports of committees were noted in the minutes of as many meetings before the buildings were begun. Seventy-seven acres were bought. Thirty-seven of them were sold. A debt of \$137,000 was incurred, and a sinking-fund established, which finally discharged, in 1845, the entire debt, leaving the asylum, with nearly forty acres of land, free of incumbrances, as it now remains. So favorable to longevity has the locality proved, that four patients who died there had been inmates fifty-eight, fifty-three, fifty-one, and forty-four years, respectively. The pressure of the city has compelled the asylum to seek ampler space elsewhere. Created by the enlightened exertions of eminent surgeons and physicians, the New York Hospital has always honored them and their successors. The oldest names that have shed luster upon American science have been connected with our

institution. The most wonderful triumphs of surgery have been achieved within its walls and by members of its staff. The fame of Mott, Stevens, Rogers, Hosack, Post, Smith, Gordon Buck, and many others, belongs to the history of our hospital, and is our proudest possession. The old hospital will ever seek to derive its chief honor from such supporters, and to afford them the widest field for the exercise of their talents and for gathering fresh laurels.*

Connected with the history of the New York Hospital is an episode which may not be omitted, as it also forms a portion of the history of the city. It was on the 12th of April, 1788, that a riot occurred, which, although afterward facetiously called "The Doctor's Mob," yet, at the time, was no laughable matter, and, indeed, threatened to be very serious in its consequences. The public mind had a few weeks previously been thrown into great excitement by the discovery that a number of dead bodies had been stolen from the different cemeteries of the city by medical students. This circumstance had considerably agitated the public mind; "and it was further provoked," says Judge Duer, "by the reckless and wanton imprudence of some young surgeons at the hospital, who from one of the upper windows exhibited the dissected arm of a *subject* to some boys who were at play on the green below. One of them, whose curiosity was thus excited, mounted upon a ladder used for some repairs, and, as he reached the window, was told by one of the doctors *to look at his mother's arm*. It happened, unfortunately, that the boy's mother had recently died, and the horror which had now taken the place of his curiosity induced him to run to his father, who was at work as a mason at a building in Broadway (no doubt on Saturday, April 12th), with the information

* Address of Mr. James W. Beckman, delivered before the New York Historical Society on the 24th of July, 1871, on the occasion of the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the founding of the New York Hospital.

of what he had seen and heard. Upon receiving the intelligence, the father repaired to his wife's grave, and, upon opening it, found that the body had been removed. He returned forthwith to the place where he had been at work, and informed his fellow-laborers of the circumstances: their indignation and horror at the relation were nearly equal to his own. Armed with the tools of their trade, they marched in a body to the hospital, gathering recruits by the way, in number amounting to a formidable mob." On arriving at the spot, the hospital itself was surrounded by the excited crowd, who, bursting open the doors, destroyed a remarkably choice collection of specimens in the anatomical museum, which had been brought from abroad. The physicians themselves were dragged from their places of concealment, and would have been hung up on the spot, had they not been rescued and lodged in the jail for safety. This, however, although it saved the lives of the physicians, only exasperated the populace still more. Accordingly, in the afternoon of the next day, upon their demand for the surrender of the physicians into their hands having been refused, they attacked the few military that had been called out to defend the jail, broke the windows, tore down the fences, and swore to take the lives of every physician in the city. Matters at length became so serious that the citizens armed themselves, and, accompanied by the Mayor, turned out in a body to relieve the party defending the jail. Before proceeding to violent measures, however, Clinton, Hamilton, Jay, Baron Steuben, and other prominent citizens, endeavored to appease the popular fury, but in vain. Still, the Mayor hesitated to give the order to fire; and it was not until John Jay and Baron Steuben had both been severely wounded by stones (the latter, indeed, felled to the ground), that the order was given. Five rioters fell, mortally wounded, at the first fire; several were wounded, and the remainder

quickly dispersed.* The brigade under General Malcom and Colonel Bauman's artillery were out several days and nights after in detachments; but the mob did not again collect, and the peace of the city was restored.

The General Assembly, which had been prorogued to the 7th day of August, 1771, was now further prorogued from time to time to the 7th of January, 1772,^{1772.} when it again met, and, on the 8th, the session was opened for business by a speech from the new Governor, of a mild and conciliatory character. His arrival had been greeted by affectionate addresses of congratulation, to which he referred with apparent warmth. His recent cruel conduct in North Carolina was then justified as a meritorious effort to preserve the constitution and the laws; and, in seeming mockery, his late wonderful achievement in that province—of dispersing with over one thousand armed troops an unarmed and inoffensive crowd—was attributed to the special favor of a kind Providence. The necessity of passing a good militia bill was then pointed out; and the thorough repairing of the fortifications of the city, which had become greatly injured by the weather, was also recommended as worthy of immediate attention. "Influenced only," he added, with consummate flattery, "by principles that flow from an honest heart, I feel an ardent desire to co-operate with you in every measure that will best promote the honor and dignity of his majesty's Government, and advance the real felicity of a people eminently distinguished by their loyalty to the best of sovereigns, and affectionate dis-

* "A ludicrous incident, illustrative of the height of the popular fury, occurred during the riot, which was nearly attended by disastrous consequences. While the excitement was at its height, a party of the rioters chanced to pass the house of Sir John Temple, then resident British consul at New York, and, mistaking the name of 'Sir John' for 'Surgeon,' attacked it furiously, and were with difficulty restrained from leveling it to the ground."
—*Miss Booth's History of New York City.*

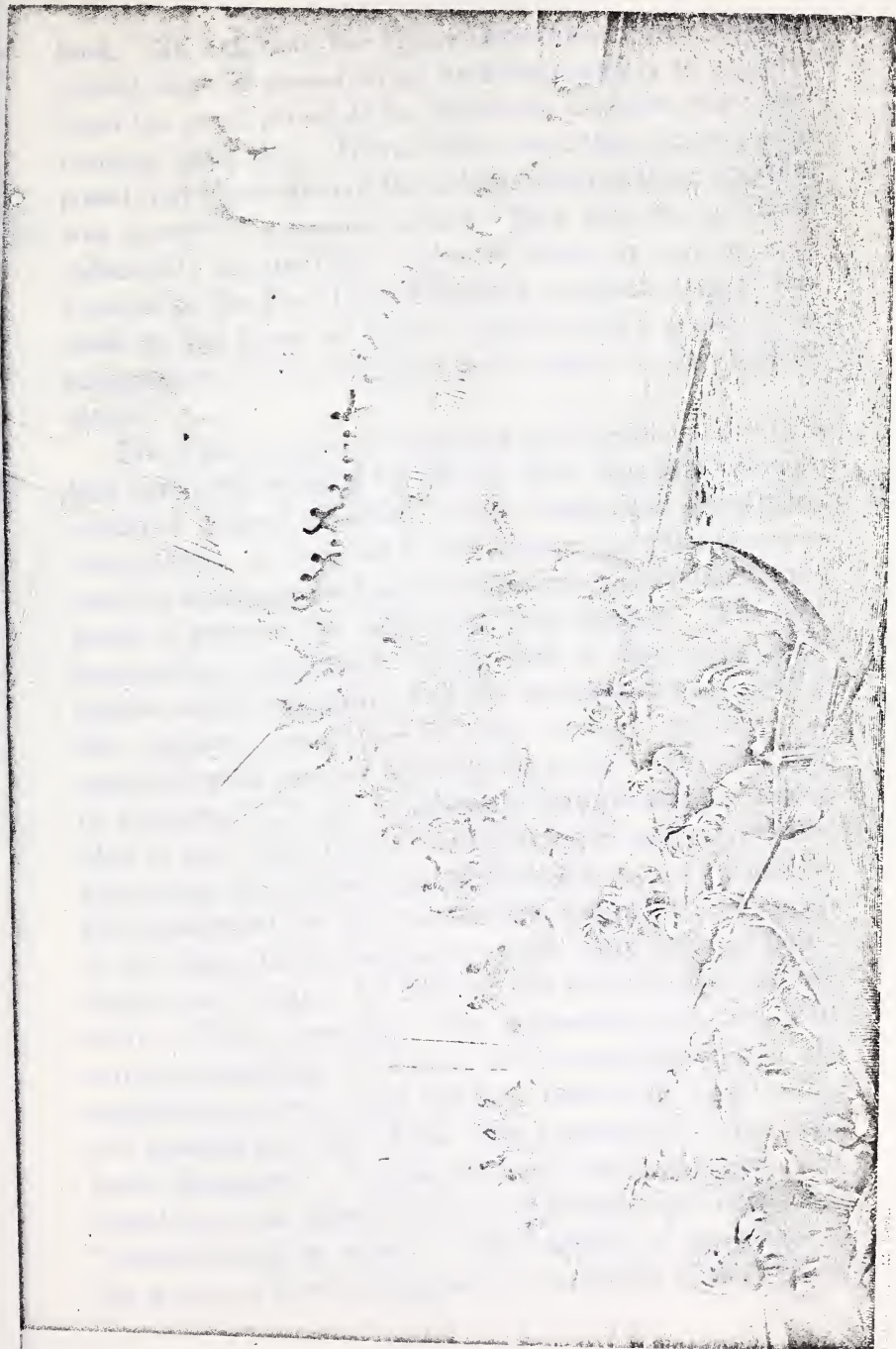
position to their mother country." The address sent in to the Governor by the House, on the 17th, was conceived in the same spirit that dictated the opening speech. It accorded high praise to the brief administration of the Earl of Dunmore, for its equity, impartiality, and disinterestedness; and expressed strong confidence in the wisdom which was to mark that of his lordship's immediate successor, as shown more particularly in his beneficent administration of his former government!

Indeed, it seemed as if, in this address, the last lingering embers of resistance to ministerial tyranny in the colony of New York had expired. A few staunch patriots, such as Philip Schuyler, it is true, still remained in the Assembly; but their voices were powerless to turn back the tide which now rolled in from the ocean of ministerial patronage. William Tryon, a man fully as subservient as Hutchinson, without his ability, backed by the Upper House, and rendered, moreover, independent of the colony by a recent order of the Crown, that his salary should hereafter be paid from the revenue chest, was well fitted for the purpose for which he had been transferred to the chair lately occupied by the mild, but passive and inefficient, Dunmore. Indeed, if anything was wanting to show the subserviency of the present Assembly, it was supplied by the utter indifference with which this attempt to render the Executive independent of the people was received. In former Assemblies, such an announcement would have been met with an outburst of indignation before which no Governor could have stood; but now a message from Tryon, in February, refusing to receive a salary from the people, produced not a word of comment; and the removal of this strong bulwark of their liberties was quietly acquiesced in. Far different, however, was the action of the Assemblies of Massachusetts and the other colonies, to whom the ministerial instruction in relation to salaries

also extended. In the former body, especially, the recent act of Parliament was boldly denounced; other colonial Legislatures did the same. New York was silent. True men looked on in amazement, and in anxious expectation strained their eyes for the first rays of the day-star of hope.

But while the representatives of the people were thus unmindful of their liberties, they were more attentive to the local interests of the colony. At the close of the present session, many praiseworthy acts were passed; and among them one for founding the present New York Hospital, and another for dividing Albany county into three counties, Albany, Tryon, and Charlotte.

Meanwhile, blind to their own interests, the ministry thought only of reducing their "rebellious subjects" into submission. Mortified and exasperated at the signal failure to foist the Stamp Act upon the colonists, they were ready to embrace any scheme which promised to soothe their wounded pride. An opportunity for doing this soon came. The East India Company were now suffering severely from the effect of the non-importation agreements. Unable to make their annual payments to the Government, of £1,400,000, they found themselves, in the spring of 1773, with seventeen million chests of tea on their hands, on the very verge of bankruptcy. In this state of affairs, the company, in April, petitioned Parliament for permission to export their teas to America, and other countries, free of duty. This request, however, the ministry, jealous of relinquishing in the least their right to tax the colonies, would not grant; but, by a special act of Parliament passed on the 10th of June, allowed the company to ship their tea to America, free of any export duty—thus putting it in the power of the company to sell their tea at a lower price in America than in Eng-



land. No act that the Home Government had hitherto passed, showed more plainly its utter inability to comprehend the great principle for which the colonists were contending, than this. It was clear that the ministry supposed that the motive of the colonists in resisting taxation was merely of a sordid nature. This idea was in itself sufficiently humiliating; and now, when, by making concessions to the East India Company, a direct attempt was made to buy them off by an appeal to their pockets, the indignation of the colonists was raised to the highest pitch.

The plan of union as proposed by Virginia, and which had now been adopted by all the New England colonies, rendered concert of action much easier than heretofore. Accordingly, as soon as it was known that the tea-ships were on their way to America, measures were immediately taken to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The non-importation agreements, which had of late grown lax, became again stringent; and the correspondence between the vigilant committees of the several colonies was renewed with greater activity than ever. On the 18th of October, 1773, the inhabitants of Philadelphia assembled in the State House; and, having in several spirited resolutions denied the right of Parliament to tax America, and denounced the duty on the tea, compelled the agents of the East India Company, by the mere force of public opinion, to resign. In Boston, the patriots were no less active. Town meetings were constantly held, and committees appointed to confer with committees from the neighboring towns upon the best method of "preventing the landing and sale of the teas exported from the East India Company." Unlike, however, the excitement produced by the Stamp Act, everything was now done "decently and in order." The burning of the *Gaspé* in the waters of the Narraganset, on the night of the 17th of

June, 1772, was suggestive. On the night of the 16th of December, 1773, three tea-ships, which lay moored at Griffin's Wharf, were boarded by a party of men disguised as Mohawk Indians, and their cargoes, consisting of three hundred and forty chests of tea, thrown into the waters of the bay.

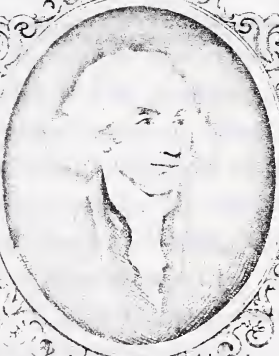
Nor was New York behind her sister colonies in resisting this new feature of ministerial oppression. Two days after the meeting in Philadelphia, the Sons of Liberty held a public meeting, in which they denounced in unequivocal terms the importation of the hateful article; and declared with such effect that tea-commissioners were fully as obnoxious as stamp-distributers, that the commissioners appointed for New York forthwith resigned. Public sentiment, moreover, was not confined merely to resolves. A remark of Governor Tryon, that "the tea should be delivered to the consignees, even if it was sprinkled with blood," was not calculated to pour oil upon the troubled waters; and so soon as it was known that consignments of tea would shortly reach the city, another mass-meeting of the citizens was held at their old rendezvous—"the fields"—to devise measures for preventing the landing of the tea from a vessel which was hourly expected. Hardly had the people assembled, when Whitehead Hicks, the Mayor, hastened to the meeting, charged with a message from the Governor, to the effect that, when the vessel arrived, the tea should be publicly taken from the ship into the fort, and there kept until the advice of the council could be taken, or the King's order could be known. The moment was critical, but John Lamb—by whose influence undoubtedly the meeting had been called—at once saw through the artifice. He immediately arose and addressed the Assembly. After giving a summary of the grievances which had brought them together, he read the act of Parliament (which prescribed the payment of the



DR. B. L. ELLIOTT



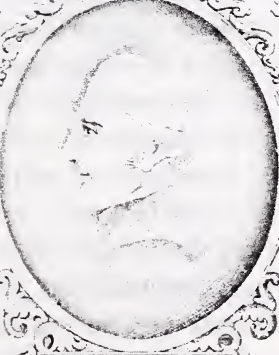
DR. J. C. L. ELLIOTT



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duty, if the article was landed), and then asked, "Shall the tea be landed?" A unanimous "NO!" (repeated three times) clearly showed the mind of his audience.

But this spirit of resistance to Parliamentary usurpation was not shared in by the Assembly, whose members were more subservient than ever. Notwithstanding the conduct of the Governor, they did not hesitate, in the spring session, to vote five thousand pounds toward rebuilding the Government House, which had been recently destroyed by fire; and, in response to his opening speech, in which they were informed that he had been called home to confer with the ministry in relation to the New Hampshire grants, they expressed the hope that his return to a grateful people would be speedy. Indeed, as Mr. Dunlap remarks, if the number of compliments paid him upon his departure were any test, it would seem as if he was very much beloved. Several of the loyalists residing in the city gave him a public dinner; General Haldimand, who had succeeded Gage as Commander-in-Chief, honored him with a ball; corporations and societies vied in presenting addresses; King's College created him a doctor in civil law; and the General Assembly tendered him an address, in which, after expressing their appreciation of the uprightness and integrity of his conduct, they added, in yet more fulsome eulogy, that they thought it their duty, as the representatives of a free and happy people, to pay this tribute of applause and acknowledgment to a Governor who had so eminently distinguished himself by his constant attention to their care and prosperity. The Governor, in return, thanked them for their "truly loyal and affectionate address;" and having, on the 19th of March, summoned the General Assembly to his house, he gave his assent to the acts that had been passed, and closed the session by prorogation.

Thus ended the third session of the Legislature of the

colony and the administration of Governor Tryon, without having in a single instance come into collision with his excellency, or even with the legislative council, save in the matter of a disagreement between the two bodies in respect to an amendment to the militia bill, proposed by the council, but to which the House disagreed. An attempt was made in the council, on motion of Mr. Smith, to obtain a conference, but the proposition was voted down. The amendment referred to, according to the reasons of dissent recorded by Mr. Smith, was an invasion of the royal prerogative; and, had the bill been passed in the shape insisted upon by the House, Mr. Smith maintained that it would have received the Governor's negative. According to the reasons of dissent, the rejection of the amendment of the council evinced a determination by the House to control the action of the Governor in commanding the services of the militia, while there were indications that their services would be required to quell insurrection in the New Hampshire grants. Mr. Smith set forth that a similar amendment sent to the House in 1772 had been concurred in by that body, and that no reason was perceptible justifying a change of sentiments upon the question; and he thought a friendly conference might induce the House to yield. Other reasons for his assent were given; and he referred to open surmises abroad, that the Legislature was losing its confidence in the Governor, and the loss of the bill with the provision in question might be viewed as an evidence that the Legislature had not been "sincere in the testimonials they had given and justly awarded to his excellency for an administration wise and impartial, fair and generous, and steadily conducted upon principles unbiased by party feuds, and acknowledged to be equally friendly to the rights of the Crown and the weal of the colony." But the conference was not asked, and, in fact, there was no collision.

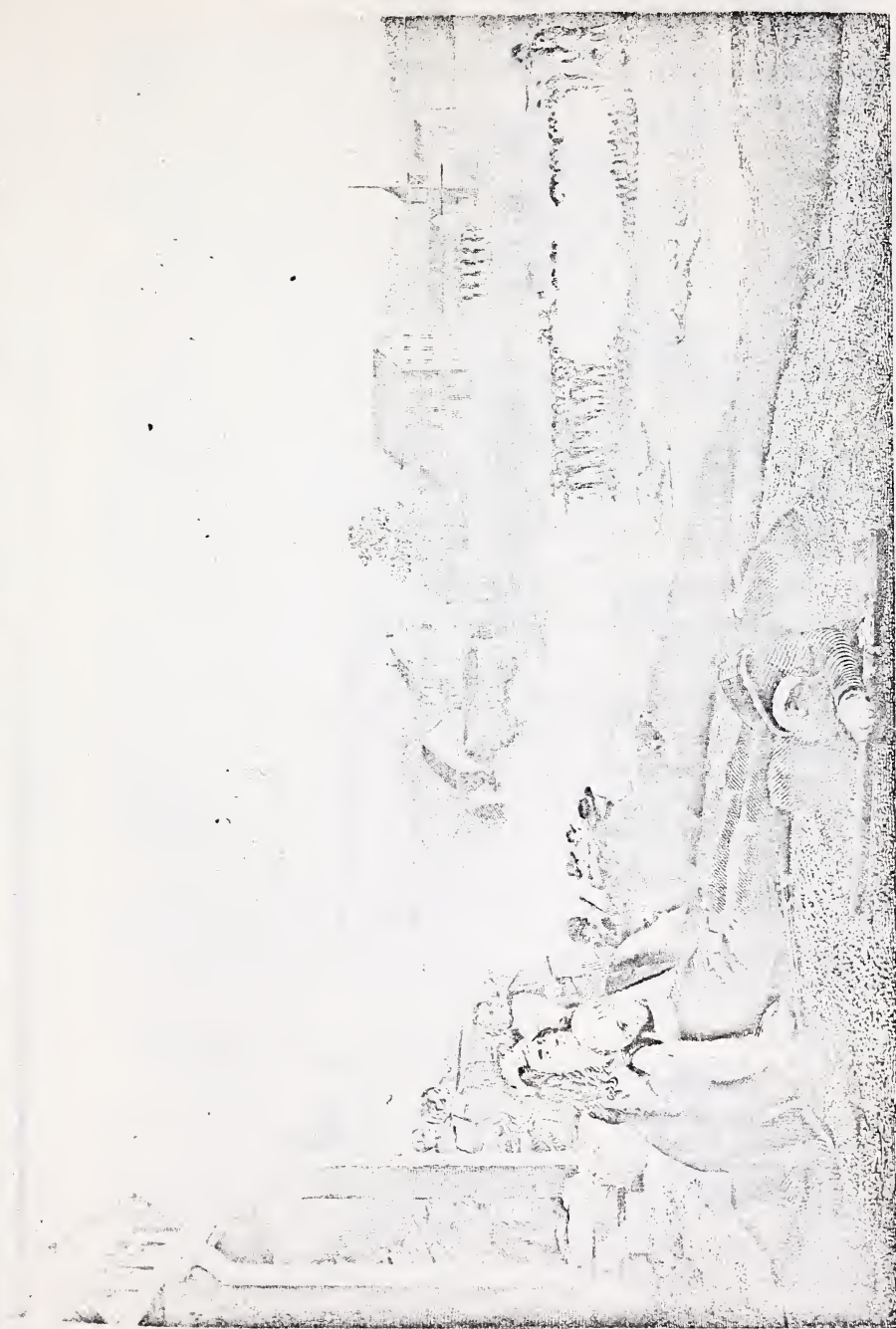
This profound tranquility which had succeeded the election of the present General Assembly in 1770, was the more remarkable for the raging of the political elements all around New York, and from the circumstances under which the preceding Assembly had been dissolved, and the feelings attending the new election. The preceding Assembly had been dissolved for its strong declaration of those constitutional principles which had been planted in the bosoms of the colonists from their settlement, and which were striking deeper root every hour; and yet, neither under Sir Henry Moore, who had dissolved the preceding and summoned the present Legislature, nor under Lord Dunmore, nor under Governor Tryon, had a breeze moved upon the political waters, so far as the Legislature was concerned, save only by its concurrence in the Virginia resolutions of May, 1769; nor did that act of concurrence occasion any visible agitation. But it was the deep, solemn calm, which often precedes the lightning and the whirlwind!

But the storm was to break sooner than was anticipated. The utterances of James Otis and Patrick Henry had created a tide of public feeling which ordinary barriers were powerless to resist. Events followed each other in startling rapidity. On the night of the 22d of April, 1774, the Sons of Liberty, following the example of their Boston neighbors, and, like them, also disguised as Mohawks, threw over a cargo of tea, brought by the *Nancy*, into the waters of New York Bay. New York, imitating the example of her sister colonies, formed a Provincial Congress in opposition to the regular Assembly, whose members still remained lukewarm, and appointed five delegates to the Continental Congress, which had already convened in Philadelphia. Tryon, in amaze at the turn affairs had taken, sailed, as we have seen, for England, on the 7th of April, 1774, to represent to the

ministry the alarming state of things in the colonies. The Province of New York was ordered by the Continental Congress to contribute her quota of three thousand men to the general defense. The battle of Lexington had been followed by the battle of Bunker Hill; the brave Montgomery was preparing to undertake his ill-fated expedition against Quebec; and Putnam, and Heath, and Pomeroy, and a score of brave spirits, laid close siege to Boston.

Such was the condition of affairs when Washington, on the 21st of June, 1775, set out from Philadelphia for

1775. Boston, with the purpose of taking New York in his way. All disguise had now been thrown off; and it was his purpose to place that important post under the command of one of his generals upon whom he could rely. But the approach of Washington toward the city threw the Provincial Congress into a quandary. It had usurped the powers of Governor Tryon in his absence, while professing, at the same time, a semi-loyalty to the parent Government. To add, also, to its perplexity, Tryon, who had just arrived from England, was in the lower bay, and might arrive at the wharf at any moment. A middle course was therefore adopted. The militia was ordered out, and the commanding officer directed "to pay military honors to whichever of the distinguished functionaries should first arrive." As it chanced, Washington arrived first on the 25th, and was escorted into the city by a committee of the Provincial Congress, by whom he had been met at Newark. As soon as the customary military honors had been paid, Peter Van Burgh Livingston, as President of the New York Congress, advanced and delivered a congratulatory address. "Confiding in you, sir," said the speaker, "and in the worthy generals under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurances that whenever this important contest



THE
HISTORY
OF
THE
CITY
OF
NEW
YORK
FROM
1624
TO
1898

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shall be decided by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed into your hands and resume the character of our worthiest citizen."

Hardly had these honors been paid to Washington, when, at eight o'clock of the same evening, Tryon landed, and was in turn greeted by the same militia, and, in addition, by the Mayor and Common Council, who, by their transports of loyalty, seemed anxious to neutralize, as far as possible, the reception given a few hours previous to Washington. Meanwhile, the latter, having placed the city under the command of General Schuyler, departed for Boston; leaving the citizens in great doubt as to the future steps which would be taken by Tryon.

Their suspense, however, was to be short. The Provincial Congress, regarding the guns in the battery as a standing menace to the patriot party, and wishing them for the defense of the Highlands, ordered their removal. The indomitable Lamb, at the head of his Liberty Boys, among whom was Alexander Hamilton, at once volunteered for this service; and, in the face of the guns of the *Asia*, which opened her batteries upon the party, succeeded in carrying away to a place of safety the whole of the pieces of cannon, twenty-one in number. This event at once brought things to a crisis; and the Governor, alarmed for his personal safety among an incensed populace, took refuge on board of the *Asia*.

Meanwhile, the Assembly of New York, not wishing to join in the radical action of the Provincial Congress, and yet feeling keenly the course of the parent Government, had prepared and sent to the Crown a memorial for a redress of their grievances—a fact which the ministry soon learned, and not without mortification. "We claim," the address said, in conclusion, "but a restoration of the

rights which we enjoyed by general consent before the close of the last war; we desire no more than a continuation of the ancient government, to which we are entitled by the principles of the British Constitution, and by which alone can be secured to us the rights of Englishmen." The address was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Burke, but was never called up. Incensed at this insult to themselves, those faint hearts in the Assembly who had heretofore wavered, now boldly joined

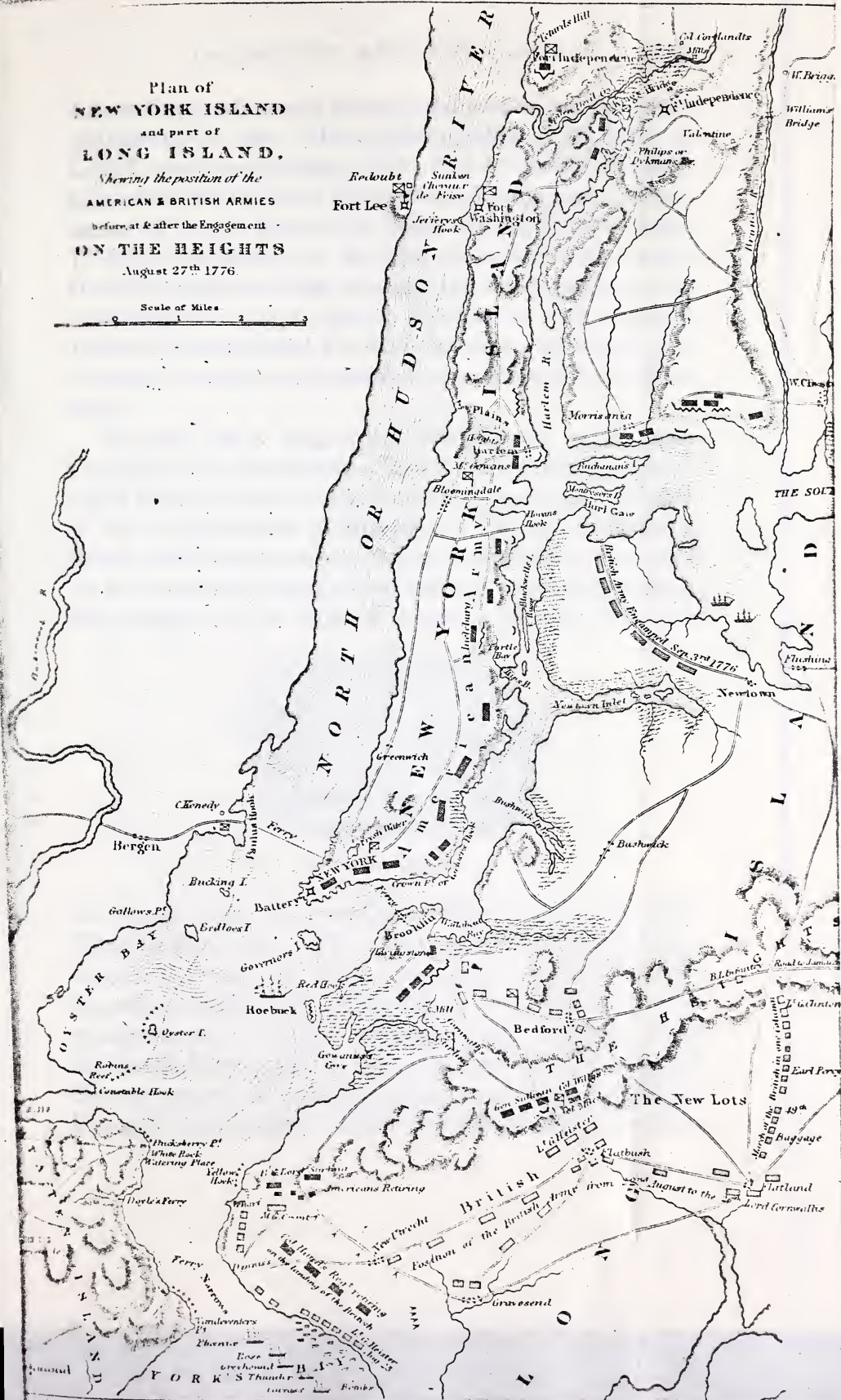
the patriots; and when, on the 10th of July, 1776,

the news was received in the city of the Declaration of Independence, the enthusiasm was well-nigh universal—almost all hastening to aid General Putnam (who had succeeded Lee in the command) in fortifying the city. The principal fortifications were as follow: A grand battery of twenty-three guns was erected directly south of the Bowling Green; McDougall's battery of four guns stood on a little eminence to the west of Trinity Church. On the East-River side were Coenties' battery, Waterbury's battery, Badlam's battery of eight guns near the Jewish burial-ground on Chatham Street, and the Independent battery on a slight elevation on the corner of the present Grand and Center Streets. "Breast-works were also erected at Peck, Beekman, Burling, and Old Slips; at the Coffee-house, the Exchange, and in Broad Street." Ditches were cut across the island from the East to the North River; and, at the same time, strong fortifications were thrown up on Governor's Island, Paulus Hook (Jersey City), Brooklyn Heights, and Long Island.

These fortifications were erected at the suggestion of the Commander-in-Chief, who, rightly anticipating, on the evacuation of Boston by General Howe, that his next point of attack would be New York, detached General Greene, with a portion of the army, to put Long Island and the harbor of New York in a posture of defense. Washington

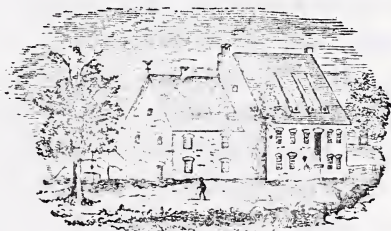
ON THE HEIGHTS
August 27th 1776.

Scale of Miles



followed soon afterward himself, and established his headquarters in the city. Having been joined by his brother, Lord Howe, as commander of the fleet at Halifax, General (afterward Sir William) Howe arrived with his reinforcements off Sandy Hook—the latter on the 25th of June, 1776, and the former on the 12th of the following month. General Clinton arriving at about the same time from the unsuccessful attempt against Charleston with Admiral Hotham, the combined forces of the enemy now amounted to nearly twenty-four thousand men, including the Hessians.

On the 22d of August, the British army landed upon Long Island at Gravesend. The American army, consisting of fifteen thousand men, under Sullivan, was encamped in the neighborhood of Brooklyn. The battle of Long Island, which was severely, though ineffectually, contested by the American forces under Sullivan and Lord Stirling, was fought on the 27th of August. On the 30th, the



KIP'S BAY HOUSE.

Americans effected a masterly retreat across the East River to New York. The enemy made immediate dispositions to attack the city; and a hasty evacuation was deemed advisable. The British fleet was divided into two squadrons, one of which entered the East and the other the North River. Under cover of the former, Sir Henry Clinton crossed from Long Island and landed at Kip's Bay with such celerity that the Americans fled in disorder.

Indeed, the evacuation resembled rather a flight than a retreat—all the heavy artillery, military stores, baggage, and provisions, falling into the hands of the enemy. A large portion of the American forces, at that time, consisted of militia, the conduct of which was scandalous beyond endurance. They deserted, not only in small numbers, but in companies and squadrons, whenever they could; and their conduct, in the face of the enemy, or rather when running from the faces of the enemy, was most cowardly. So disorderly was their demeanor, and so like poltroons did they behave when flying from Sir Henry Clinton, that even Washington himself lost his patience, and was excited to a degree of hot exasperation. In writing from Harlem Heights to a friend, General Greene said that “two brigades of militia ran away from about fifty men, leaving the Commander-in-Chief on the ground, within eighty yards of the enemy, so vexed with the conduct of his troops that he sought death rather than life. His attempts to stop them were fruitless. He drew his sword and threatened to run them through, and cocked and snapped his pistols.* But all his exertions were to no purpose.” In a letter upon the subject of this infamous conduct of the militia, to the President of Congress, the Commander-in-Chief declared that, “were he called to give his opinion upon oath, he should say that militia did more injury to the service than good.”

General Greene strongly urged the destruction of the city by fire—a measure afterward so effectively adopted by Count Rostopchin, Governor of the ancient capital of Muscovy, to arrest the career of Napoleon—that the enemy might be deprived of the advantage of establishing their winter-quarters therein. His reasons for this measure were sound, and ought, doubtless, to have been

* Mr. Bancroft, it is true, discredits this statement; but, it seems to me, without sufficient reason.



adopted. Washington, also, was believed to be of the same opinion, especially as two-thirds of the property which it was proposed to destroy, belonged to undisguised loyalists. But Congress would not allow the sacrifice; and, on the 15th of September, 1776, the City of New



VIEW FROM FORT LEE.

York was in full possession of the British—General Washington having retired with the army to King's Bridge.

For several weeks, Washington occupied Harlem Heights above Manhattanville, residing meanwhile at the

house of Colonel Roger Morris (between 160th and 161st Streets); while Colonel Cadwallader, with eight hundred men, was posted along the lower lines which crossed the island. At length, on the 15th of November, an attack being made by the enemy under Lord Percy, Cadwallader held them in check on Harlem Plains for more than an hour and a half, until Washington had been able to cross the Hudson from Fort Lee, reconnoitre the position, and return in safety. But the gallant efforts of Cadwallader were of no avail; for Lord Percy, having been reinforced, ruined the position of his adversary, and, compelling him to retreat to Fort Washington (already in possession of the British), made him prisoner. The capture of Fort Washington compelled that of Fort Lee. "Washington retreated with his troops through the Jerseys, and the struggle for liberty in New York was over."

It would seem, however, as if the idea of firing the city—though given up by Washington and Greene—was still cherished by some of the residents of the city. Scarcely had the British fairly taken possession, when, on the night of the 20th of September—only six days after they had marched in—a terrific fire broke out, which was not subdued until one thousand houses, or about one-fourth of the city, were reduced to ashes.* The fire was first discovered in a low dram-shop, tenanted by abandoned men and women; but, in a few minutes afterward, flames were seen to break forth from several other buildings, lying in different directions, at the same moment. For some time previous, the weather had been dry; and at the moment, a brisk southerly wind prevailing, and the build-

* Hugh Gaîne, in his *Universal Register* for 1787, states that before this fire the city contained about four thousand two hundred houses, and thirty thousand inhabitants.

ings being of wood and covered with shingles, the flames soon caught the neighboring houses and spread with inconceivable rapidity. The fire swept up Broad and Beaver Streets to Broadway, and thence onward, consuming all

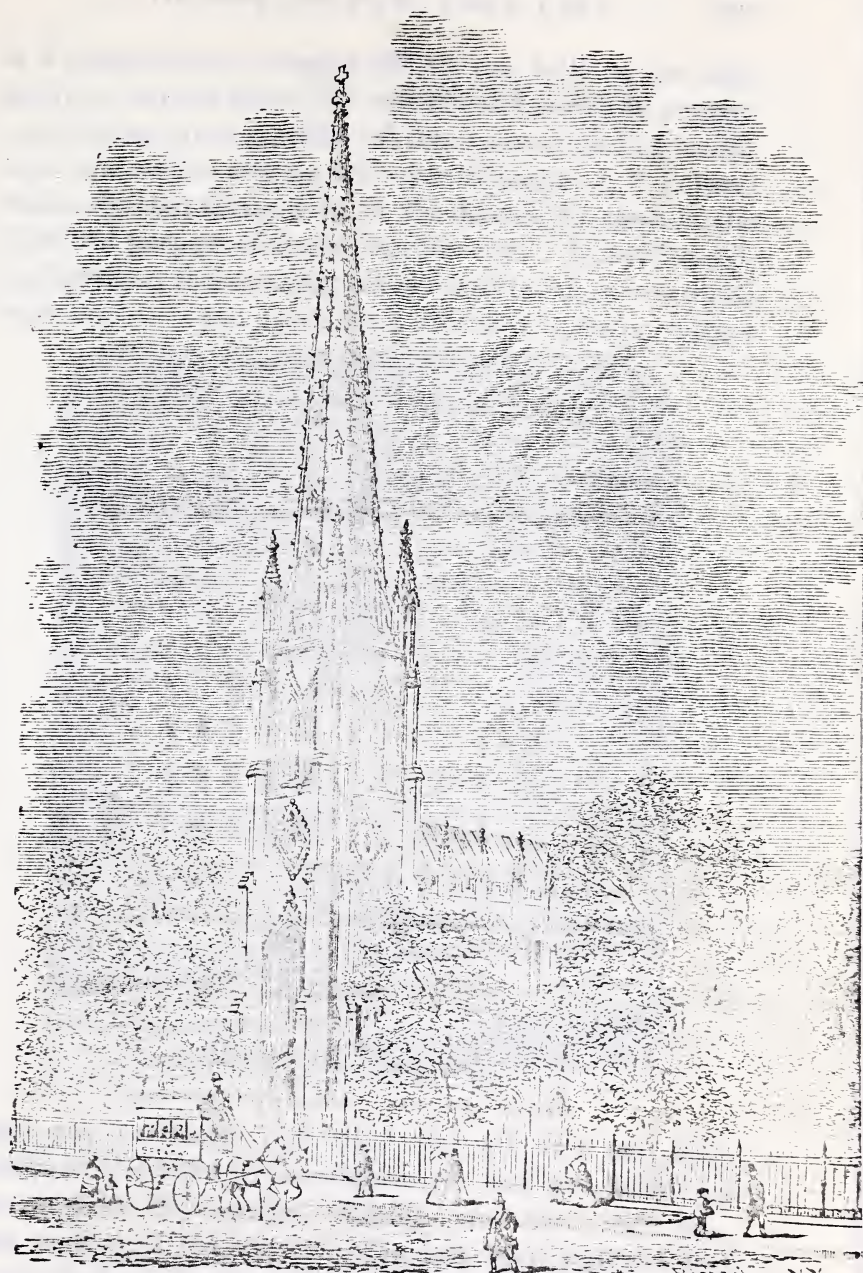


VIEW ON WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.

that portion of the town lying on the North River, until the flames were stopped by the grounds of King's (Columbia) College at Mortkile Street, now Barclay. St. Paul's

Church, at one time, was in great danger. Fortunately, however, the roof was flat, with a balustrade on the eaves. Taking advantage of this circumstance, a number of citizens went into the balustrade and extinguished the flakes of fire as they fell on the roof. Trinity Church, with the Lutheran Chapel, on the opposite corner of Rector Street, was also destroyed. The Rev. Dr. Inglis was then rector of Trinity; and with this sacred edifice, his parsonage and the Charity School—two large buildings—were consumed, entailing a loss of church property to the value of twenty-five thousand pounds. The organ of Trinity, alone, cost eight hundred and fifty pounds.

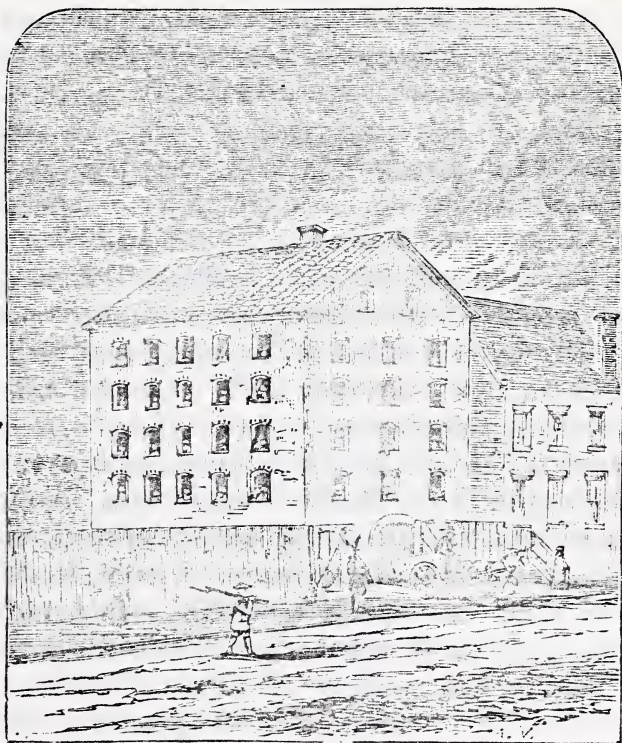
At the present day, it is difficult to say whether the fire was or was not the result of incendiarism on the part of disaffected Americans. Even reliable contemporaneous writers differ widely in their opinion on the subject, some affirming positively that the city was set on fire, and others, again, quite as positively affirming the contrary. For ourselves, we are inclined to believe that the fire was the result of a deliberate design; nor, if the newspapers and private correspondence of the day can be believed, is there much room left for doubt. According to these authorities, one man was seized in the act of setting fire to the college, who acknowledged that he had been employed for the purpose. A New-England captain, who was seized at the same time with matches in his pocket, also acknowledged the same. One White, a carpenter, was observed to cut the leather buckets which conveyed the water. "The next day, Saturday," says Steadman, in his history of the American War, "a great many cart-loads of bundles of pine-sticks dipped in brimstone were found concealed in cellars of houses to which the incendiaries had not had time to set fire." "The rebels," says the Rev. Charles Inglis, in writing on the same subject, a few days after, to the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel



TRINITY CHURCH.

Richardson & Co. N.Y.

in Foreign Parts, "carried off all the bells in the city, partly to convert them into cannon and partly to prevent notice being given speedily of the destruction they meditated against the city by fire, when it began. * * Several rebels secreted themselves in the houses to execute the diabolical purpose of destroying the city." Notwithstanding, however, this seeming mass of testimony, it was found impossible to obtain legal proof sufficient to fasten the act



THE OLD SUGAR-HOUSE IN LIBERTY STREET.

upon any particular individual—for all who had been caught at the time with matches, &c., had been killed on the spot by the enraged soldiery—and the result was, that several of the citizens, who had been arrested and imprisoned on the charge of being the incendiaries, were acquitted.

The history of New York city during its occupation by the British is not one that Americans can recall with pleasure. True it is that this period has invested a few of the old buildings, yet standing, with interest; but these very associations are of a saddening, melancholy nature, and only calculated to make Americans, even at the present day, blush at the remembrance of the fact that British officers—having their blood, and the same ancestry, and speaking the same tongue—could ever have been guilty of such horrid atrocities upon the persons of inoffensive captives. Of the numerous prison-pens in the city during the Revolution (among which was the old Sugar-House), only two yet stand, like charred and battered monuments of cruelty and tyranny—the North Dutch Church, on William Street, and the Middle Dutch Church (the present Post-office). In the former edifice, eight hundred prisoners were incarcerated, without fuel or bedding, during two of the coldest winters New York has ever known.* Their provisions were scanty, and of the poorest quality; and, as a natural and probably anticipated consequence, many died from cold and starvation. “We never,” says Oliver Woodruff, one of the prisoners, “drew as much provisions for three days’ allowance as a man would eat at a common meal. I was there three months during that inclement season, and never saw any fire, except what was in the lamps of the city. There was not a pane of glass in the windows, and nothing to keep out the cold, except the iron grates.”† “The allowance,” says

* During one of these winters—that of 1779-’80—the river and bay between Cortlandt Street, New Jersey, and Staten Island were frozen over for forty days. Hundreds of people crossed daily on the ice, which was so thick that artillery was also conveyed across.

† It is very true that, at times, the British themselves were often in want of food, and suffered from cold, and also that provisions were dear; still, that need not have prevented them from giving the prisoners bedclothes, and ministering to their necessities, and alleviating their condition as far as possible.

Adolph Meyer, another prisoner, "was one loaf of bread, one quart of peas, half a pint of rice, and one and a half pounds of pork, for six days. Many prisoners died from want; and others were reduced to such wretchedness as to attract the attention of common prostitutes, from whom they received considerable assistance. No care was taken of the sick; and if any died they were thrown at the door of the prison, and lay there till the next day, when they were put on a cart and drawn out to the intrenchments, beyond the Jews' burial-ground, where they were interred by their fellow-prisoners, conducted thither for that purpose. The dead were thrown into a hole promiscuously, without the usual rites of sepulcher." But the state of things was even worse in the Middle Dutch Church (the present Post-office), into which three thousand prisoners were crowded. "Here," says John Pintard, an eye-witness of these scenes, "the prisoners taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington—sick, wounded, and well—were all indiscriminately huddled together by hundreds and thousands, large numbers of whom died by disease; and many were undoubtedly poisoned by their inhuman attendants for the sake of their watches and silver buckles." "The beds of the prisoners," says Dunlap, writing at the time, "were straw, intermixed with vermin. For many weeks, the dead-cart visited the prison every morning, into which from eight to twelve corpses were flung and piled up, then dumped into ditches in the outskirts of the city." The bones of the unfortunate victims of British cruelty, thus disposed of, were collected after the Revolution, and buried with proper funeral rites.*

* But none of these prison-pens were so horrible as the *Jersey* prison-ship. "This vessel was originally a British line-of-battle ship, built in 1736, and carried sixty guns. She had done good service in the war with France, and had several times served as a part of the Mediterranean squadron. In the spring of 1776, she sailed for America as one of the fleet of Commodore Hotham, and arrived at Sandy Hook in the month of August. She was subsequently

But while the American prisoners were thus languishing in prison, the British officers and their wives were passing their time in a round of gayety and frivolity. The best view, perhaps, of the interior and social life of New York at this time—now become in reality a British city—is given in the letters of Mrs. General Riedesel.* This lady was the wife of the German general who commanded the Brunswick troops at the battle of Saratoga, where he was captured with Burgoyne. After her husband was exchanged, she spent nearly two years in New York city (1779-'80), and her letters to her mother at this time are of great interest. From these letters we make the following extracts:

"Finally, late one evening, at the end of November, 1779, we reached New York, where my husband, who had gone ahead of us, had already arrived before me.

1779. A soldier who, at the gateway, had been ordered to show us the way, conducted us to a very great and

used as a store-ship, then employed as a hospital-ship, and was finally, in the winter of 1779-'80, fitted up as a prison-ship, and anchored near the Wallabout in the East River, near what is now the Navy Yard, where she lay until the close of the war, when the day of retribution arrived, and she was broken up and sunk beneath the muddy waters of the East River to rise no more. Dismantled of her sails and stripped of her rigging, with port-holes closed, with no spar but the bowsprit, and a derrick to take in supplies, her small lone flag at the stern became the appropriate but unconscious signal of the dreadful suffering that raged within. Hundreds of captured prisoners were packed into this small vessel, where, with but one meal of coarse and filthy food *per diem*, without hammocks, or physician, or medicines, or means of cleanliness, they wretchedly perished. Thousands of emaciated skeletons were, during these perilous years, cast into the billows of the bay, or left half covered in the sandbanks and trenches. The bones of the dead lay exposed along the beach, drying and bleaching in the sun, whitening the shore until washed away by the surging tides. About twelve thousand prisoners are believed to have died on these vessels, most of whom were young men, the strength and flower of their country."

* *Letters and Journals relating to the War of the American Revolution, and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga, by Mrs. General Riedesel. Translated from the original German, by William L. Stone. ALBANY: J. MUNSSELL. 1867.*

beautiful house, where we found everything prepared for our reception; and, better than all, a good supper. I was too much occupied in putting the children to bed, and too tired to inquire where I was, and supposed I was in a public-house. My husband, who had taken tea with General Cornwallis, came home late. The next morning, a servant came in to ask me what I desired for dinner, and how many visitors I would probably have daily at table. I replied that as my husband did not dine at home, I should not need more than three dishes for six persons, namely: myself, my children, my women-servants, and the pastor, Mylius, the chaplain of my husband's regiment, whom we retained in our family, and who gave my children instruction in everything useful. He was a man of piety, and of excellent character and good humor, and the children and we all loved him very much. I was then told that the order had been given to serve up on my table every day six large and four small dishes. Being still under the impression that I was in a tavern, I decidedly forbade this profusion, as I dreaded the bill. But I soon discovered that I was staying at the house of the Governor, General Tryon, who had forbidden them to tell me where I had been taken, through fear that I would not accept of his house.* This noble-minded man, moreover, in order

* The site of the present (1871) Bank of New York.

"On the night of December 29th, 1773, the Government House accidentally caught fire. So rapid was the progress of the flames, that in a few moments after the alarm was given a thick cloud of smoke and flame pervaded the whole building, and in less than two hours it was entirely consumed. From this dreadful conflagration, nothing in the building, except a few articles of furniture taken from one of the parlors, was saved. The manner in which the fire originated was not discovered. The deep snow which covered the roofs of the other buildings in the city contributed to their protection, and the fire department of the city showed great activity in preventing the progress of the flames. Governor Tryon was a resident of the Government House in the fort at the time of its destruction, and was a heavy loser by the event. He afterward resided in a house on the corner of Wall and William Streets, the same house having been subsequently, and until late years, occupied by the Bank of New York."—*Valentine's Manual for 1864*, page 643.

to avoid my thanks, crossed over to Long Island, where he had a provisional command. All my wishes were anticipated, and I was only in continual fear lest I should abuse so much kindness. I also received a call from General Patterson, the commandant of the city, who told me that they were still busy with the arrangement of the house, which we were to have as our own residence. Lord Cornwallis and General Clinton likewise came to see me. The former went off soon afterward upon an expedition. The latter offered me a country-seat, of which he had the disposal, where I might have my children inoculated with the small-pox, an operation which it would be dangerous to have performed in the city, as that disease was raging there violently. I accepted his offer with much satisfaction, and we made all necessary preparations to go there. I gave our cook ten guineas to purchase all kinds of provisions. But when he very soon came back and asked for more money, I learned, to my surprise, that the money I had given him would scarcely last for two days, so dear was everything, even the commonest thing. For example, one pound of meat, reckoning according to our money, cost twelve groschen; * one pound of butter, eighteen groschen; one turkey, four rix-thalers; a fowl, twenty groschen; an egg, four groschen; a quart of milk, six groschen; a bushel of potatoes, two rix-thalers; a half bushel of turnips, two florins; ten oysters, eight groschen; and six onions, one rix-thaler. But what was there left for me to do but to bear it with patience? †

* A groschen, as has been mentioned in a preceding note, is a fraction over three American cents.

† All contemporaneous accounts fully corroborate the statement of our authoress. The rich in the city at first strove to keep up their six courses, their three-side services, and their profusion of fish, flesh, and fowl; but at length their resources failed. Many articles of food could no longer be obtained, and others were so dear as to exhaust the means of the wealthiest. A turkey was cheap at four dollars. Good meat could seldom be procured, and vegetables were extravagantly dear. Fifty dollars, says an eye-witness, would not feed a

"One day a general was announced. I received him, and in the course of conversation he asked me, among other things, whether I was satisfied with my quarters. My heart was too full of thankfulness for all the kindness that had been shown me, not to give full vent to my feelings in this regard, and I at last expressed the wish to know personally my noble benefactor who had treated me with so much delicacy. He laughed, and just at that moment my husband stepped in, and said to me, "This is the man who has shown us so much kindness." I was so delighted at seeing him, that I could not find words to express my feelings. Upon seeing my emotion, the man was very much affected. I have invariably received from him the greatest proofs of his friendship.

"The country residence of General Clinton, where we went, was an hour's ride from the city. The grounds were beautiful, as was also the house; but the latter was arranged more for a summer residence, and, as we had come there in the month of December, we suffered much from the cold. Notwithstanding this, however, the inoculation was perfectly successful. Accordingly, as it was now completed, and we had nothing more to fear from the infection, we got ourselves in readiness to return to the city, and sent our cook and the rest of our servants ahead to prepare everything for our arrival, which we expected would be upon the following day. During the night, however, we had such a terrible storm that we

family for two days. Sir Henry Clinton entreated the farmers of the vicinity to bring in provisions, but in vain. Nor was he more successful in the foraging parties he sent out. At sight of the enemy, the alarm was given. The farmers of Westport and Southport, of Elizabethtown and Rahway, hastily buried their corn and oats beneath the snow, and old family furniture was carried off at midnight and hidden in the depths of the forest. The British foraging parties accordingly found the barns empty, the cattle driven off, and the farm-houses deserted. In their rage, the foragers set fire to the old homesteads and desolated whole districts, thus increasing the general misery without accomplishing the least good.

believed the whole house would be overturned. As it was, an entire balustrade actually fell down with a dreadful crash, and on getting up the next morning we saw that on account of snow having fallen during the night four or five feet on the level, and eight feet in drifts, it would be utterly impossible to venture forth without sledges. I therefore went to work to hunt up all that I could find for our dinner. An old hen that had been forgotten served us for soup, and some potatoes which the gardener gave us, with some salt meat that still remained over from our stock of provisions, made up the entire meal for more than fourteen persons, which number we then were.

"On our return to New York, I found, to my great amazement, our new dwelling fitted up throughout with mahogany furniture. I was at first frightened at the expense which this would occasion. But Captain Willoe informed me that the entire cost would be defrayed by the Governor, and that the Commandant, General Patterson, considered himself fortunate in being able to justify the confidence which I had placed in the English nation. To render this remark intelligible, I must here state that I had assured him, when he consulted me upon the arrangement of our house, that I would leave everything entirely to the English, from whom, up to the present time, I had received sincere kindness and courtesy, and who certainly would still preserve toward us that full confidence which they had shown toward us.

"They overwhelmed us with distinguished marks of courtesy and friendship, for which we had, in a great measure, to thank General Phillips, who, in New York, was very much beloved, and was so strong a friend of ours that he declared that whatever was done for us would flatter him more than as if done for himself. I had also the good fortune, during our stay, to make many friends on my own account.

"As the birthday of the Queen of England was approaching (which really comes in summer, but, as the King's birthday also comes in that season, is celebrated in winter, to give more custom to the trades-people, as every one upon those days appears at court in gala-dress), they wished to celebrate the day with a great *fête*; and as it was the general wish—partly to please General Philips, and partly to make me forget my own suffering—to confer on me a distinguished honor, they desired me to be queen of the ball. In order to bring this about, they persuaded the wife of General Cornwallis's adjutant—who, as an English lady of noble birth, would have had precedence over me—to remain at home, on the ground that she was near her confinement. When at length the great day arrived, all the ladies assembled at Governor Tryon's, where they received me with all ceremony. The General introduced me to all the ladies, some of whom were envious of the honor which was shown me. But I immediately declared that I received this distinction only on account of the day, as they had conferred on me the honor of representing the Queen, and that in future I would give place to those ladies who were older than I. As there were quite a number present who were my elders, my explanation conciliated them. Their countenances, accordingly, quickly brightened up, and I was soon upon a pleasant footing with the whole company.

"At six o'clock in the afternoon I was obliged to seat myself on a carriage with Generals Tryon and Patterson, to be driven to the ball, where we were received with kettle-drums and trumpets.

"At supper, I was obliged, as I represented the Queen, to sit under a canopy, and drink the first toast. I was certainly much touched at all the marks of friendship I received, although extremely tired; still, in order to show my gratitude, I cheerfully stayed as long as possible, and

remained until two o'clock in the morning. Not only on this occasion, but during the whole of my sojourn in this place, I was loaded with kindness; and I passed the remainder of the winter very pleasantly, with the exception of suffering very much from the cold, as the commissary had not had a sufficient quantity of wood cut. To save expense, he had this work done by his negro slaves; and the winter setting in earlier than usual, and being impossible, as the river was frozen half over, to bring in wood either by boats or sledges, many of the garrison suffered for fuel. We, indeed, received an order for it; but how did that help the matter, since there was no wood to be had? We were, therefore, often obliged to borrow wood of General Tryon for Saturday and Sunday, which we would return on Monday if we received any. The cold was so intense that I frequently made the children lie in bed in order to keep them warm. Wood could not often be purchased for money; and if by chance a little was for sale, it cost ten pounds by the cord. I have myself paid one piaster (which is a crown with us) for a single stick. The poor were obliged to burn fat, in order to warm themselves and cook their meals.*

"One day I was at the house of the lady of General Cornwallis's aid-de-camp, who had been confined; and complained bitterly of this lack of wood; whereupon, she promised to send me some coals, which I could return at my own convenience. I showed so much joy at this, that a certain major, named Brown, who happened to be present, and was attached to the commissariat, and who had

* "The wealthy," writes a contemporary, "shivered for cold in their splendid apartments. In vain did Sir Henry Clinton issue proclamations to the farmers of Long Island to send in their wood. In vain did he dispatch foraging parties to cut down the forests on the large estates of the patriots William Floyd and William Smith, the patroons of Long Island. The demand for fuel could not be supplied, and the Baroness Riedesel, the caressed of all the army, suffered severely in that inclement winter."

already expressed much sympathy at our want of wood, was so much affected that he immediately left the room.

"The next day, as I was looking out of the window, I saw quite a number of wagons full of chopped trees, standing still in the street. Each wagon contained two cords of wood. I went into the room where the pastor, Mylius, sat with the children before the fire-place, in which the last stick was burning, and said to him: 'Never before have I been envious; but now, the distress and pain which these poor children suffer, make me so; for just now there has come to our very door four wagons filled with wood. How happy would I be if I only had some of it!' Scarcely had I thus spoken, when a servant brought me a message from Major Brown, stating that he had sent me these loads of wood with his compliments, and begging us to send to him whenever we should again be out of fuel. Imagine my joy, and my eagerness to thank our guardian angel. I had scarcely seen his face, as the lying-in chamber of milady had been so dark. Some days after, I was at a ball where he also was expected to be present. He had been described to me as a man with a very prominent turned-up nose. For such a person, therefore, I looked attentively; but I was obliged to look for a long time, because the excellent man kept continually out of the way, that I might have no opportunity to thank him. At last, however, I found him, and thanked him right heartily. He then told me that up that time he had known nothing of our necessity, but that when he heard my story he had not been able to go to sleep quietly the whole night. through fear that the dispositions which he had already made for our relief would not arrive sufficiently speedy. These 'dispositions' consisted in giving the order to cut down some of the trees in the great avenue* in front of the

* Probably, the present Wall Street. All the principal highways of the city were adorned at this period with luxuriant shade-trees. A celebrated traveler,

city; and when this proceeding was objected to on the ground that it would make considerable damage, he replied, that it was much better to spare a few trees than to have a family, who had served the King with so much zeal, suffer from want. He further told me that in future we must, under all circumstances, whenever anything was wanting that it belonged to the commissary to supply, apply directly to him. This acquaintance was of great advantage to us. My husband was supplied with many kinds of provisions; with Indian meal, part of which we used for bread and part for cake, and also with salted meat, which latter article, however, was entirely useless to us, as we received more than we could consume; and it often was so uneatable that I gave it away to get rid of it, especially since our servants were also supplied with the same kind of food. The major, accordingly, advised us to pursue the same plan in this regard as the other generals, viz.: to exchange our meat for boxes of tallow and candles of spermaceti (which burn better and are more beautiful than those of wax), and also for butter, which they did gladly, as they were obliged to supply the soldiers with meat. By this means, we saved considerably. We were now no longer troubled for the want of

who visited New York just previous to the arrival of Governor Tryon, thus describes the various kinds then growing in the city: "In the chief streets there are trees planted, which, in the summer, give them a fine appearance, and, during the excessive heat at that time, afford a cooling shade. I found it extremely pleasant to walk in the town, for it seemed quite like a garden. The trees which are planted for this purpose are chiefly of two kinds; the water-beech is the most numerous, and gives an agreeable shade in summer by its large and numerous leaves. The locust-tree is likewise frequent; its fine leaves and the odoriferous scent which exhales from its flowers make it very proper for being planted in the streets near the houses and in the gardens. There are likewise lime-trees and elms in these walks, but they are not, by far, so frequent as the others. One seldom meets with trees of the same sort adjoining each other, they being in general placed alternately." The last of these trees in Wall Street was cut down in 1866. A portion of its trunk (preserved as a sacred relic) is to be seen in the old English chop-house, on Thames Street, known as "Old Tom's."

wood, for they broke to pieces an old and worthless ship in order to furnish us with fuel, and from this time we received weekly two cords of fire-wood.

"Throughout the whole winter, Generals Phillips, Tryon, and Patterson were our constant friends and guests, and every week we gave a gentleman's dinner party. This was all that we could afford to do, as everything was so terribly high in the city. At the end of the winter, General Tryon sailed for England; but, just before his departure, he sent to my house magnificent furniture, tapestry, carpets, and curtains, besides a set of silk hangings for an entire room. Never shall I forget the many marks of friendship which I have received from almost every one of this excellent nation; and it will always be to me a source of satisfaction to be able at any time to be of use to the English, as I have learned by experience how pleasant it is to receive kindness from foreigners.

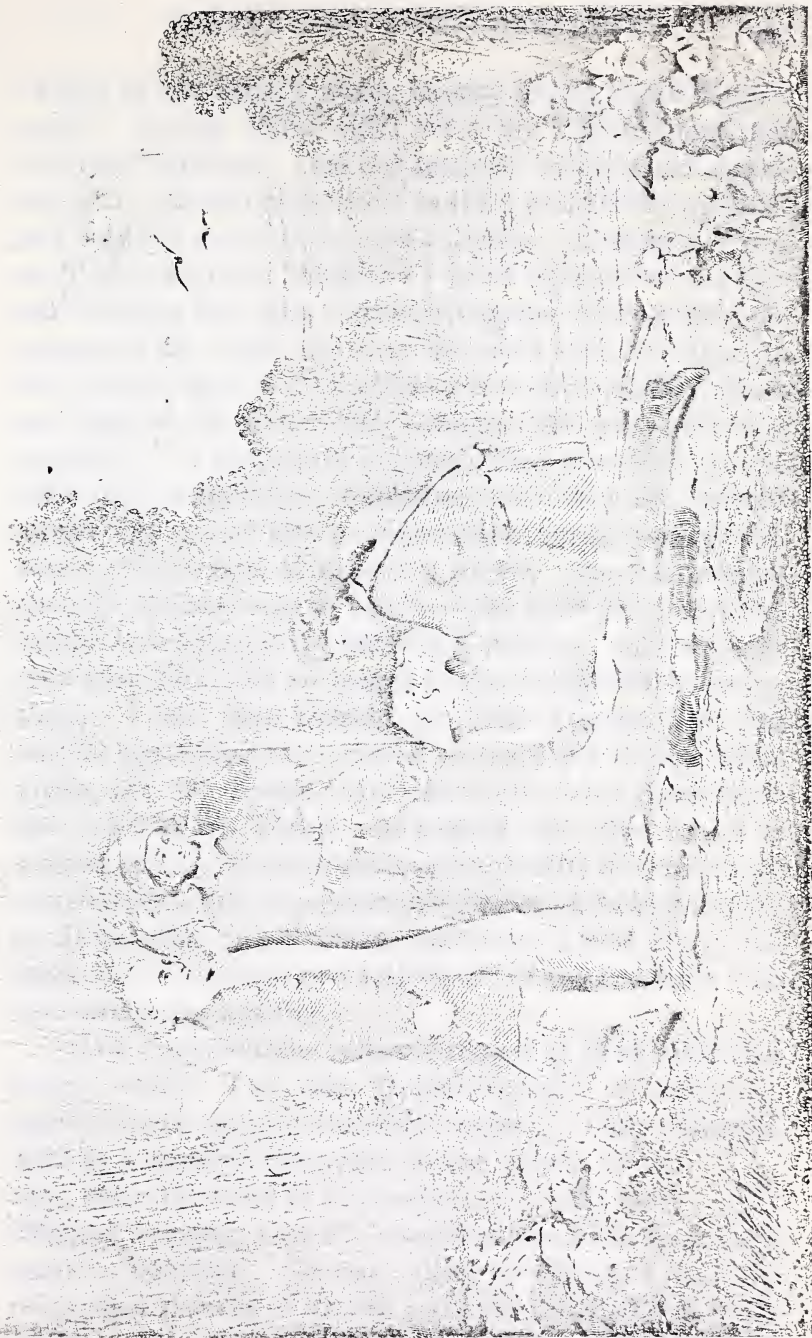
"About this time our friendly relations began with our excellent friend General Clinton, who was the General-in-Chief of the English army in the Southern provinces of America. As is the case with every Englishman, it was at first very difficult for our acquaintance to ripen into intimacy. His first call upon us was one of ceremony, as he came as General-in-Chief, attended by his entire staff. As his general appearance and conversation were agreeable, I said to his friend, General Phillips, that I regretted that he had treated us with so much ceremony, and that a more friendly manner would have better accorded with our feelings. Afterward he invited us out to his country-seat to spend the summer, an invitation which was accepted. His country residence was magnificent, a most beautiful situation, orchard and meadows, and the Hudson River running directly in front of the house. Everything was placed at our disposal, including fruits of the most delicious flavor; indeed, of this latter article we had more

than we could eat. Our servants feasted on peaches even to satiety, and our horses, which roamed through the orchards, eagerly ate the fruit from the trees, disdaining that upon the ground, which every evening we had gathered up and given to the pigs to fatten them. It seems almost incredible, but nevertheless it is true, that with nothing but this fruit we fattened six pigs, the flesh of which was capital, only the fat was somewhat soft. Peach, apricot, and other fruit-trees are raised here without espaliers, and have trunks as thick as those of ordinary trees.

“Not far from us were the Hell Gates, which are dangerous breakers for those ships that pass through them up the river. We often saw ships in danger, but only one was wrecked and went to pieces during our stay at this place.

“General Clinton came often to visit us, but in hunter's dress, accompanied by only one aid-de-camp. On one of these occasions he said to us: ‘I feel confident that you look upon me more as a friend than a stranger; and as I feel the same toward you, you shall always be regarded by me as such.’ The last time he came to see us, he had with him the unfortunate—as he afterward became—Major Andre, who, the day afterward, set out upon the fatal expedition in which he was captured by the Americans and afterward hung as a spy. It was very sad that this pre-eminently excellent young man should have fallen a victim to his zeal and his kind heart, which led him to undertake such a precarious errand instead of leaving it to older and known officers, to whom properly the duty belonged, but whom, on that very account (as they would be more exposed to danger), he wished to save.

“We passed much of our time at this most agreeable place, but our contentment was broken in upon by a malignant fever that prevailed in New York, and of



which in our family alone, twenty fell ill, eight dangerously. Among these eight were my husband, and my daughter Gustava. One can imagine my grief and apprehension; day and night I did nothing but divide my nursing between my husband and daughter. The former was so ill that we often thought he would not survive the day; and Gustava had such violent paroxysms of fever that she entreated me, when she was shivering with the ague, to lay myself upon her, at which times she violently shook me, together with her bed, although she was only nine years old. It frequently happened that those sick of the fever died in these fits of shaking, and every day persons would tell me of fifty or sixty fresh burials, which certainly did not tend to raise my spirits. The heat which the sick suffered was so intense that their pulse beat one hundred and thirty-five times in a minute. All our servants were sick, and of course I was obliged to do everything. I was then nursing my little America, and had neither opportunity nor desire to lie down, except while giving her the breast. At such times I lay down upon the bed and fell asleep. At night I was often busied in making for my patients a lemonade of salts of wormwood, mixed with lemon-juice, sugar, and water; by which means, as all the sick in the house had them, I used up, in the space of two weeks, two full boxes of lemons, each box containing five hundred.

"We remained the entire summer of 1780 upon this lovely estate. Two Miss Robinsons came to share our loneliness and enliven our little company. They remained with us a fortnight previous to our return to the city, when the news of the arrival of a ship from England, bringing over the latest fashions, took them back again to the town. On our return to the city I scarcely recognized them in their odd and actually laughable garb, which a very pretty woman, just over from England, had

imposed upon them and the other New York ladies. This lady was with child, and did not wish it to be known. Accordingly, she made them think that in England they wore bodices that were parted in the middle, whereby the points stuck upward, hoops as large around as those of a hog'shead, and very short cloaks tied up with ribbons, all of which they believed implicitly, and copied after.*

"Upon our return to New York we were received in the most friendly manner, and our friends vied with each other in making the winter pass most pleasantly. My husband, General Phillips, and their aids-de-camp, were finally exchanged in the autumn of 1780, but the rest of the troops captured at Saratoga remained prisoners.

"General Clinton, partly through friendship to my husband, and partly out of attachment to our present duke, wished to place General Riedesel in active service, where he could serve to advantage. He, therefore, by virtue of the power which an English general has in his own army, appointed him Lieutenant-General, and gave him the corresponding English allowance; which, on account of the dearness of everything (by reason of which we had difficulty in making both ends meet), proved very acceptable to us. At the same time he gave him a command at Long Island, which island lies opposite New York, being separated from it by only a narrow channel called

* The taste for fashionable frivolity and display seems to have been the only thing unaffected by the privations of that gloomy winter. Eugene Lawrence, in speaking of New York city at this time, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society, January 6th, 1857, says: "Meanwhile, in the midst of all this suffering and want, the city streets were filled with the fashions and the luxuries of Europe. The ladies crowded William Street, and the merchants spread out the most costly wares. French silks, captured in some unlucky vessels, sold readily at extravagant rates. Lutestrings and poplins, brocades, and the best broadcloth of England, were shown on the counters of William Street and Wall; and it is a curious circumstance, that, through all the war, William Prince, of Flushing, continued his advertisement of fruit and flowers, of magnolias and apricots, and of the finest grafts and the rarest seeds."

the East River. I was not able during the winter to be with him, as the house in which he had his quarters was not habitable for me, as it was possible to heat only a few rooms in it. My husband, accordingly, went back and forth, which he easily did all winter, as everything was quiet. The autumn before he was appointed to this post, he had a severe relapse of his old complaint, caused probably by a cold which he caught by going in sea-bathing while heated. He suddenly became perfectly stiff, and could not speak; and had it not been for friend Colonel Wurmb, who fortunately was in his room, it might, perhaps, have been all over with him. The doctor immediately opened a vein and rubbed him strongly, and God once more spared him to me; but his cramps, oppressions, headaches, and drowsiness increased. All the physicians gave it as their opinion that the climate thoroughly disagreed with him, and that he never would be any better as long as he remained in the Southern provinces of North America. Still, there was nothing else for us to do. My husband could not think of receiving permission to leave, and was, therefore, obliged to remain at his post.

“In the spring of 1781, I also settled down on Long Island, where we, although pretty lonesome, might have lived perfectly contented if we only could have been without solicitude; but, as the river was not
1781.
frozen over, the Americans constantly attempted surprises in order to take prisoners. Major Maybaum was drawn out of his bed, and we knew that they aimed to do the same thing with my husband. Our house was situated close to the shore, and was perfectly isolated, so that if they had overcome the watch, they could easily have carried him away. Every one was therefore constantly on the watch. Throughout the entire night, at the slightest noise, he would wake up and place himself in readiness for an attack, and thus he lost considerable sleep. I also became

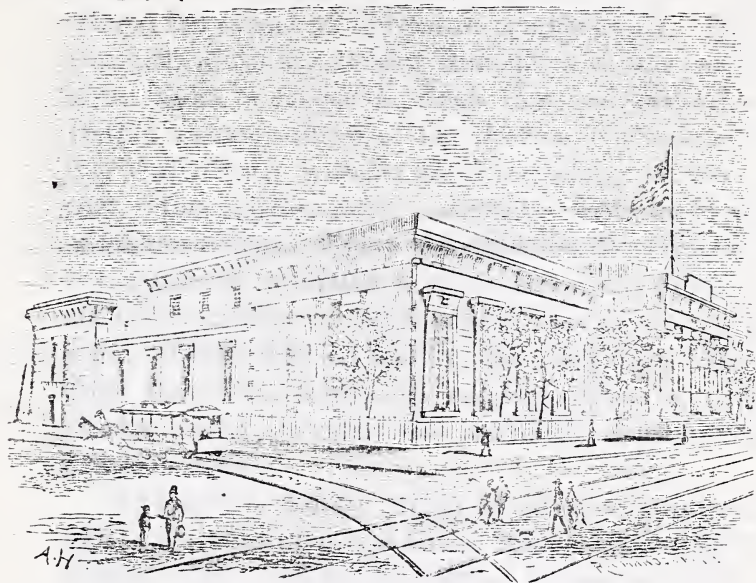
so accustomed to watching, that daylight would often surprise me, when I would lie down and catch a few hours' sleep; for it was only when my husband believed that I was wide-awake and on guard, that he would allow himself to sleep, so terrible was to him the thought that he might again be taken prisoner. We had from our house a magnificent prospect. Every evening I saw from my window the City of New York, entirely lighted up; and, as the city is built close to the shore, I saw its reflection in the water. We heard, also, the beating of the drums; and, if everything was particularly still, even the calls of the sentinels. We had our own boat, and could cross over in it to New York in a quarter of an hour."

During the Revolution, the house No. 1 Broadway—to which allusion has been made on a preceding page—was the head-quarters and general rendezvous of the British generals and other army officers.* In like manner,

* Connected with the house No. 1 Broadway, built in 1742, and now the oldest house in New York city, there is quite an amusing reminiscence. Previous to this year (1742) the site was occupied by an old tavern kept by a Mrs. Kocks, built fifty years before by her husband, Pieter Kocks, an officer in the Dutch service, and an active leader in the Indian war of 1693. Connected with this personage there is an interesting as well as amusing episode. According to Judge Daly, in *The Historical Magazine* for January, 1871, it appears that in 1654 this same Pieter Kocks, then a single man, residing in New Amsterdam, brought an action, in the Court of Burgomeisters and Schepens, against Anna Van Vorst, who is described as a maid living at Ahasimus, for a breach of promise of marriage mutually entered into between them, in confirmation of which he had made her certain gifts. It would seem, however, as the record states, that the lady had misgivings, and was not disposed to marry him. On her part, she proved, by two witnesses, that he had agreed to give her up, and had promised to give her an acquittal in writing. But the court would not excuse her; "as the promise of marriage," says the court, "was made before the Omnipotent God, it shall remain in force;" and they held that neither should marry any other person without the approval of the court; that the presents should remain with the lady until they were married, or until, by mutual consent, they were exempted from the contract; and they were equally condemned in the costs of the suit. This Anna Van Vorst is supposed to have been a daughter of the first emigrant by Vrouwtje Ides, and was the ancestor of our fellow-citizen Hon. Hooper C. Van Vorst.

Since speaking of this house on page 152, a writer in the *New York Even*

the BEEKMAN HOUSE (the site of the present *Journal of Commerce* Building) was at the same time the head-quarters of the British naval officers. This continued to be so during the entire war, and, indeed, had been so before the Revolution. Admirals Charles Hardy (Admiral of the Blue) and John Digby (Admiral of the Red) were often here. The



THE TOMBS.

late King of England, William IV, who, as the Duke of Clarence and a midshipman, came over here with Admiral Digby, in the *St. George*, in 1782, made this house his place of resort on shore. His German tastes were shown by his taking every occasion, when off duty, to skate on the Kolek or Collect Pond (now the site of the

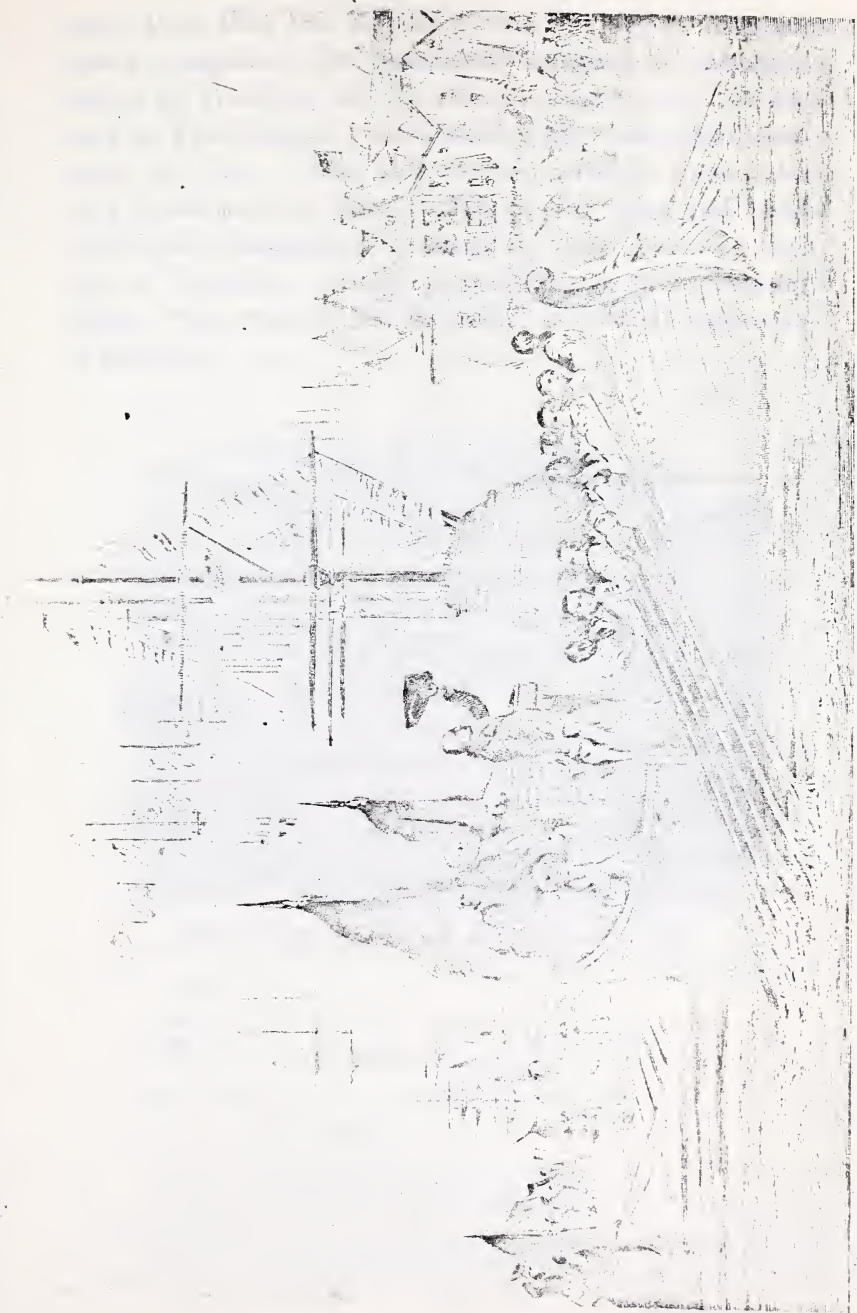
ing Post has given currency again to the story that it was built by Captain Kennedy. Let this question be forever set at rest. The Watts family acquired the ownership to the property of No. 1 Broadway through Sir Peter, Admiral Warren, who, as stated on page 152, built the house. Captain Archibald Kennedy, who, late in life, succeeded to the Scotch Earldom of Cassilis, married a daughter of John Watts—a niece of Sir John Johnson's wife, *née* Miss Mary Watts—and by this marriage acquired the property in question. This is all the connection that Kennedy ever had with the house in dispute.

Tombs). His companion on these occasions was Gulian Verplanck *—the grand-uncle of the late Gulian C. Verplanck—who once rescued him from drowning when he had broken through the ice and fallen into the Pond. The changes which have taken place from time to time in the lines of roads and streets, have greatly altered the aspect of the entire neighborhood. The calm and quiet life of the ancient Hollanders in this locality has given place to scenes of which they had little dreamed. Within a stone's-throw of the *Journal of Commerce* Building, Wall Street, with its fibers stretching out into every part of the civilized globe, controls the destinies of millions of human beings. Where the good Mrs. Beekman and her five daughters attended to their household duties in the old Dutch kitchen, a steam-engine now drives a printing-press. Where they sat waiting for news from "home" by ships that were months in coming, editors now sit, and receive in the afternoon the morning's news in England and Holland.†

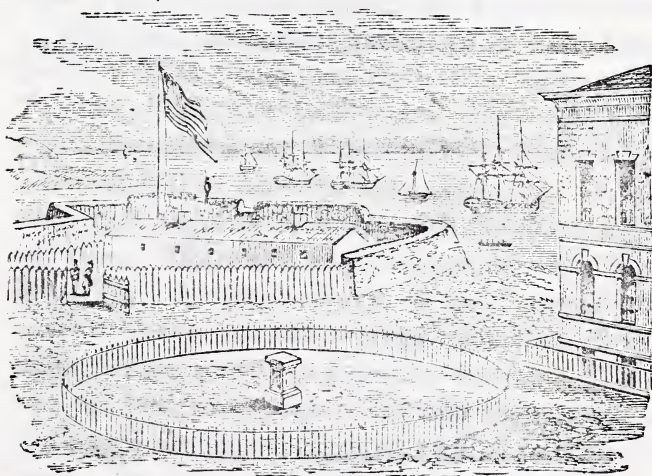
At length a definite treaty of peace was entered into by the United States and Great Britain on the 3d of September, 1783; and on the 25th of November of the same year—just seven years, two months, and ten days
1783. from the time the British had occupied New York in triumph—Washington entered the city at noon—at the

* Afterward President of the Bank of New York, in which office he continued until his death, in 1799.

† William Beekman had a country-seat three miles from the City Hall, and a house on his plantation in the lower part of the city. His down-town house was located on the spot which is now the site of the *Journal of Commerce* building. The old road to the fort, from the ferry on the East River, then at Peck Slip, ran along the shore nearly to the foot of Wall Street, when it turned and passed the Beekman House, which was probably erected with reference to this highway. In 1712, a negro riot broke out near Hanover Square, and Adrian Beekman (a son of Gerard, who had been owner of this and other property), rushing out of his residence to help quell the insurrection, was stabbed by a negro. As a result of this riot, nineteen slaves were executed.



same time that the British troops, having, as they supposed, prevented the immediate hoisting of American colors, by knocking off the cleats and greasing the flag-staff on Fort George, evacuated the city and sailed slowly down the bay. But this device availed them little. New cleats were at once nailed to the pole; and before the British disappeared in the offing they heard the thunders of American cannon, proclaiming, as the Stars and Stripes were run up, the downfall of British supremacy in America!



THE BOWLING GREEN AND FORT GEORGE IN 1783.

CHAPTER VIII.

A HISTORY of this period would be incomplete without an allusion to the newspapers published in the City of New York before and during the American Revolution.

The first newspaper published in New York city was the New York *Gazette*, established by William Bradford in October, 1725, just twenty-one years subsequent to the establishment at Boston of the first newspaper published in America—the *Newsletter*. It was printed on a half sheet of foolscap, with large and almost worn-out type. There is a large volume of these papers in the New York Society Library, in good preservation. The advertisements do not average more than three or four a week, and are mostly of runaway negroes. The ship-news was diminutive enough—now and then a ship and some half-dozen sloops arriving and leaving in the course of the week. Such was the daily paper published in this, the commercial metropolis of America, one hundred and forty-six years ago!

Eight years after the establishment of Bradford's *Gazette*, the New York *Weekly Journal* was commenced by John Peter Zenger, and was distinguished for the raciness of its advertisements.*

* One of these advertisements was as follows:

"Whereas, the wife of Peter Smith has left his bed and board, the public are cautioned against trusting her, as he will pay no debts of her contracting.

"N. B.—The best of garden seeds sold by the same Peter Smith, at the sign of the Golden Hammer."

The third paper published in New York was called the *Evening Post*. It was commenced by Henry De Forest in 1746. It was remarkable chiefly for stupidity, looseness of syntax, and worse orthography, and died before it was able to walk alone. 1746.

In 1752, the *New York Mercury* was commenced, and, in 1763, the title was changed to the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*. This paper was established by Hugh Gainé at the sign of the Bible and Crown, Hanover Square. It was conducted with taste and ability, and became the best newspaper in the colonies. 1752. 1763.

In 1763, Gainé was arraigned by the Assembly for publishing a part of the proceedings without permission, and withal incorrectly. He was a gentleman of a kind spirit, and never had the power to withhold an apology when it was asked; he accordingly apologized, was reprimanded, and discharged.

As the storm of war drew on in 1775, the *Mercury* contained a series of patriotic papers, under the signature of the "Watch-Tower." But as the British drew near to New York, the patriotism of Gainé began to cool; and, during the whole course of the Revolutionary War, his *Mercury* afforded very accurate indications of the state of the contest. When with the *Whigs*, Hugh Gainé was a *Whig*; when with the *Royalists*, he was loyal. When the contest was doubtful, equally doubtful was the politics of Hugh Gainé. In short, he was the most perfect pattern of the genuine *non-committal*. On the arrival of the British army, he removed to Newark, but soon returned to the city, and published a paper devoted to the cause of the Crown. His course was a fruitful theme for the wags of the day; and, at the peace, a poetical petition from Gainé to the Senate of the State, setting forth his life and conduct, was got up with a good deal of humor. His paper closed with the war.

Another paper, called the *New York Gazette*, was commenced by Wayman, the former associate of Parker. In

1766. 1766, Wayman was arrested and imprisoned for a contempt of the Assembly, upon no other charge than that of two typographical errors in printing the speech of Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of the colony. One of these errors consisted in printing the word *never* for *ever*, by reason of which the meaning of the sentence was reversed. The Assembly, however, was more rigid in this case, from the suspicion entertained that this error was intentional; but such was clearly not the case.

A paper called the *New York Chronicle* was published during the years 1761-'62, and then died. The *New York Packet* was next published in 1763, but how long it lived is not known. In 1766, Holt established the *New York Journal, or General Advertiser*, which, in the course of the year, was united with *Parker's Gazette*, the *Journal* being printed as a separate paper. John Holt edited the first Whig paper published in this city; nor, as in the case of Hugh Gaine, did his patriotism come and go as danger approached or receded from the city. In 1774, Holt

1774. discarded the King's arms from the title of his paper, and substituted a serpent, cut into pieces;

1775. with the expressive motto, "*Unite or die.*" In January, 1775, the snake was united, and coiled with the tail in its mouth, forming a double ring. On the body of the snake, beginning at the head, were the following lines:

"United now, alive and free—
Firm on this basis Liberty shall stand,
And, thus supported, ever bless our land,
Till time becomes Eternity."

The designs both of 1774 and 1775 were excellent—the first by a visible illustration, showing the disjointed state of the colonies; and the second presenting an

emblem of their strength when united. Holt maintained his integrity to the last. When the British took possession of New York, he removed to Esopus (now Kingston), and revived his paper. On the burning of that village by the enemy in 1777, he removed to Poughkeepsie, and published the *Journal* there until the peace of 1783, when he returned to New York, and resumed his paper under the title of the *Independent Gazette, or the New York Journal revived*. Holt was an unflinching patriot, but did not long survive the achievement of his country's freedom. He fell a victim to the yellow fever in 1798. The paper was continued by his widow for a little while, but ultimately fell into the hands of that celebrated political gladiator, James Cheetham.

The celebrated James Rivington began his paper in 1733, under the formidable title of *Rivington's New York Gazette; or, the Connecticut, New Jersey, Hudson River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*. The imprint read as follows: "Printed at his *ever open* and uninfluenced press, fronting Hanover Square." It is well known that Rivington was the royal printer during the whole of the Revolutionary War; and it is amusing to trace the degrees by which his toryism manifested itself as the storm gathered over the country. The title of the paper originally contained the cut of a large ship under full sail. In 1774, the ship sailed out of sight, and the King's arms appeared in its place; and, in 1775, the words *ever open and uninfluenced* were withdrawn from the imprint. These symptoms were disliked by the patriots of the country; and, in November, 1775, a party of armed men from Connecticut entered the city on horseback, beset his habitation, broke into his printing-office, destroyed his presses, and threw his types into *pi*. They then carried them away, melted, and cast them into bullets. Rivington's paper was now effectually stopped, until the British army took possession of the city.

Rivington himself, meantime, had been to England, where he procured a new printing apparatus, and, returning, established the *New York Royal Gazette*, published by James Rivington, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty. During the remaining five years of the war, Rivington's paper was more distinguished for its lies and its disloyalty than any other journal in the colonies. It was published twice a week; and four other newspapers were published in this city at the same time, under the sanction of the British officers,—one arranged for each day, so that, in fact, they had the advantages of a daily paper. It has been said and believed that Rivington, after all, was a secret traitor to the Crown, and, in fact, the secret spy for General Washington. Be this, however, as it may, as the war drew to a close, and the prospects of the King's arms began to darken, Rivington's loyalty began to cool down; and by 1787 the King's arms had disappeared; the ship again sailed into sight; and the title of the paper, no more the *Royal Gazette*, was simply *Rivington's New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser*. But, although he labored to play the republican, he was distrusted by the people, and his paper was relinquished in the course of that year.

From this brief sketch of the history of newspapers, from their first introduction into the city down to the period of the Revolution, an idea may be formed of the germ of the newspaper-press, which is now one of the chief glories of our country. The public press of no other country equals that of New York city and the United States, either on the score of its moral or its intellectual power, or for the exertion of that manly independence of thought and action, which ought ever to characterize the press of a free people.*

* The whole number of periodicals issued in the United States is 5,983, with 73 to be added for the Territories, 353 for the Dominion of Canada, and 29 for

What a prophet would the great wizard-novelist of Scotland have been, had the prediction which he put into the mouth of Galeotti Martivale, the astrologer of Louis the Eleventh, in the romance of Quentin Durward, been written at the period of its date! Louis, who has justly been held as the Tiberius of France, is represented as paying a visit to the mystic workshop of the astrologer, whom his majesty discovered to be engaged in the then newly-invented art of multiplying manuscripts by the intervention of machinery,—in other words, the apparatus of printing.

the British colonies,—making a grand total of 6,438; of which 637 are daily, 118 tri-weekly, 129 semi-weekly, 4,642 weekly, 21 biweekly, 100 semi-monthly, 715 monthly, 14 bimonthly, and 62 quarterly. New York State has the largest number of publications—894 (of which 371 are published and printed in New York city), and Nevada has the smallest number issued in any State—only 15. Nevada has more daily than weekly papers, and is unique in this respect, every other State having from three to twelve times as many weeklies as dailies. Tri-weekly papers are more common in the South than semi-weeklies, while in the Northern States the facts are reversed.

New York has 89 dailies, being the largest number published in any State. Pennsylvania is second, with 61. Next comes Illinois, with 38; and California has 34, being the fourth on the list. Delaware and Florida have each one daily paper. Kansas has as many as Vermont, West Virginia, Mississippi, and Arkansas combined. Nebraska and Nevada have each more dailies than either Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, West Virginia, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Maine, or Mississippi.

Of the 73 publications issued regularly in the Territories, 13 are daily, 50 weekly, 3 tri-weekly, 4 semi-weekly, 1 monthly, 1 semi-monthly, and 1 biweekly.

The papers of New York State have the largest circulation, averaging 7,411 each issue. Massachusetts is second, with 5,709 average; then comes the District of Columbia, with 4,323. As New York papers circulate everywhere, while those of California do not go very much out of the State, it is evident that the papers have a better local support than in other States of the American Union.

In the District of Columbia there is one newspaper published for every three square miles of territory. Massachusetts has one to 30 square miles, and Rhode Island one to 50. Then comes New York, with one to 57. Connecticut has one to 60, New Jersey one to 63, Texas one to 2,345, Florida one to 2,693; while in the Territories one newspaper spreads its circulation over no less than 14,465 square miles.

For the names of the publications published in New York city, the curious reader is referred to the *American Newspaper Directory*, of this city.

"Can things of such mechanical and terrestrial import," inquired the King, "interest the thoughts of one before whom Heaven has unrolled her own celestial volumes?"

"My brother," replied the astrologer, "believe me, that, in considering the consequences of this invention, I read with as certain augury, as by any combination of the heavenly bodies, the most awful and portentous changes. When I reflect with what slow and limited supplies the stream of science hath hitherto descended to us; how difficult to be obtained by those most ardent in its search; how certain to be neglected by all who love their ease; how liable to be diverted or altogether dried up by the invasions of barbarism,—can I look forward without wonder and astonishment to the lot of a succeeding generation, on whom knowledge will descend like the first and second rain,—*uninterrupted, unabated, unbounded*; fertilizing some grounds and overflowing others; changing the whole form of social life; establishing and overthrowing religions; erecting and destroying kingdoms—"

"Hold! hold, Galeotti!" cried the King; "shall these changes come in our time?"

"No, my royal brother," replied Martiville; "this invention may be likened to a young tree which is now newly planted, but shall, in succeeding generations, bear fruit as fatal, yet as precious, as that of the Garden of Eden,—the knowledge, namely, of good and of evil."

THIRD PERIOD.

1783—1871.

From the Evacuation of New York City by the British to the present day.

CHAPTER I.

"THE city is ruined by the war, but its future greatness is unquestionable." So wrote a citizen of New York, at the close of the Revolutionary War, to a friend; and never was there a truer prophecy uttered. The trade of the city was indeed "ruined;" her treasury was empty; and her people were yet divided by domestic feuds. Still, this state of things could not last long. The position of New York among the colonies had already become too important to be ignored for any length of time; and the same causes which, at an early period, made New York the center of the colonial interest, were to continue in operation until she should become that which she now is,—the metropolis of America. The Colonial Congress of 1765, the Provincial Congress of 1776, the selection of herself as the seat of the General Government in 1788, and the inauguration of Washington in 1789, were "all hints of the empire that was to be."

On the 13th of September, 1788, the adoption of the Federal Constitution was publicly announced; and New York was chosen as the seat of the General Government. This action of the Convention was peculiarly gratifying to the citizens of New York, who at once took steps to celebrate the occasion with fitting ceremonies.*

It is well known that the festivities attendant upon such a momentous occasion should be embalmed for American generations yet unborn. The adoption of the Federal Constitution—the instrument which was to bind the almost disjointed members of the republic together, as one people—was the most important event that the citizens of New York had ever been called upon to commemorate. The period intervening between the formation of the Constitution by the Convention, and its adoption by the number of States requisite to give it validity, was one of deep anxiety to the patriots of that day, not unmingled with fears as to the final result. A violent opposition sprung up in various parts of the Confederation, which was so successfully fomented by demagogues, and by those who feared they might lose weight in the national scale, should the new Federal edifice be erected, that the friends of the Constitution, seeing nothing better than civil tumult and anarchy in the prospective, should that instrument be rejected, entertained the most lively apprehen-

* The account given in the text of the PROCESSION in honor of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as well as the narrative of the INAUGURATION BALL, is taken from the writings of the late Colonel William L. Stone, for thirty years the editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. It is believed to comprise the only faithful historical record, political, festive, and fashionable, of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the organization of the Government, the pageantry attending it, and the demonstrations which followed that important epoch in our national history. The particulars were collected by Colonel Stone, with much care and labor, from such printed accounts as could be found in the scattered remnants of the little dingy newspapers of that day, and, also, such facts as were yet dimly floating in the recollections of those few who were then surviving and had been actors in the scenes described.

sions upon the subject. There were, likewise, among the opponents of the proposed Constitution, some good men and real patriots, who honestly believed, that, in the event of its adoption, too much power would pass from the States to the Federal Congress and the Executive. The ablest tongues and pens in the Union were brought into action; and it was that contest which combined the united wisdom of Hamilton, Jay, and Madison, in the *Federalist*,—the ablest exposition of the Constitution that ever has been, or, perhaps, ever will be, written.

The action, however, of the respective States was slow. The proceedings of their conventions were watched with absorbing interest; and, when it was found that the voice of New York would turn the scale (the Convention being in session in Poughkeepsie), all eyes were eagerly turned toward that quarter. The chief reason of New York's reluctance to come into the Constitutional Union was the fear—in view of the rising destiny of their city and State—of making over too much of their local power to the central Government; especially their great share of revenue from imports, and their commanding position between New England and the South and West. The contest, however, was not long in doubt. Hamilton redoubled his wonderful efforts, and Livingston put the whole energies of his capacious mind in requisition, and the Federalists triumphed. The news was received in New York city with unbounded delight; the clubs celebrated the event with dinners and great festivity, and the citizens gave themselves up to the most unequivocal evidences of gratification. But private manifestations of the public feeling were held not to be worthy of the occasion, and no time was lost in concerting the necessary measures for a public commemoration of the event, upon the most extensive and splendid scale that the public means would allow. Nor has the pageantry of any American celebration since that

day—not even excepting the Atlantic Cable Celebration of 1859—excelled it in the ardor of its enthusiasm, or in the splendor of its effect. In describing the procession on this occasion, Colonel Stone says:—

“The procession was organized ‘in the fields,’ above the city; thence it moved down Broadway to Great Dock Street; thence through Hanover Square and Queen (now Pearl) Street, up to Chatham; through Chatham to Division, and thence across, through Bullock Street, to the grounds surrounding the country-seat of Nicholas Bayard, near the present junction of Broadway and Grand Street.

“A volume would scarce suffice to detail the particulars necessary to a full description of the flags and emblems, and patriotic decorations, which graced the many divisions and subdivisions of this brilliant pageant—altogether exceeding anything of a kindred character previously exhibited in the New World. After a brilliant military escort came Captain Moore, in the character and ancient costume of Christopher Columbus, preceded and followed by a band of foresters, with axes, suitably appareled. The next division consisted of a large number of farmers, among whom were Nicholas Cruger, driving a six-ox team, and the present venerable John Watts, holding a plow. All the implements of husbandry and gardening were borne in the procession, and the Baron Poelnitz attended a threshing-machine. Their horses were hand-somely caparisoned, and led by boys in white uniforms. The tailors made a very brilliant display of numbers, uniforms, and decorations of various descriptions. In the procession of the bakers were boys in beautiful dresses, representing the several States, with roses in their hands. There were likewise an equal number of journey-men in appropriate uniforms, with the implements of the calling, and a loaf of bread was borne in the procession

ten feet long and three wide, on which were inscribed the names of the several States. The display of the brewers was happily conceived, and appropriate. In addition to their banners fluttering gayly in the air, they paraded cars with hog-heads and tuns, decorated with festoons of hop-vines, intertwined with handfuls of barley. Seated on the top of a tun was a living Bacchus—a beautiful boy of eight years old—dressed in flesh-colored silk, fitted snugly to the limbs, and thus disclosing all the fine symmetrical proportions of his body. In his hand he held a silver goblet, with which he quaffed the nut-brown, and on his head was a garland of hops and barley-ears. The coopers appeared in great numbers. Their emblem of the States were thirteen boys, each thirteen years of age, dressed in white, with green ribbons at their ankles, a keg under their left arms, and a bough of white oak in their right hands. Upon an immensely large car, drawn by horses appropriately adorned, the coopers were at work. They had a broken cask, representing the old confederacy, the staves of which all their skill could not keep together. In despair at the repeated *nullification* which their work experienced, they all at once betook themselves to the construction of an entirely new piece of work. Their success was complete, and a fine, tight, iron-bound keg arose from their hand, bearing the name of the New Constitution. The procession of butchers was long, and their appearance highly respectable. Upon the car in their procession was a roasted ox, of a thousand pounds, which was given as a sweet morsel to the hungry multitude at the close of the day. The car of the sons of St. Crispin was drawn by four milk-white steeds, beautifully caparisoned. The tanners, curriers, and peruke-makers followed next in order, each with various banners and significant emblems. The furriers, from the novelty of their display, attracted great attention. It was truly picturesque. Their marshal

was followed by an Indian in his native costume and armor, as though coming wild from the wilderness, laden with raw furs for the market. A procession of journey-men furriers followed, each bearing some dressed or manufactured article. These were succeeded by a horse bearing two packs of furs, and a huge bear sitting upon each. The horse was led by an Indian in a beaver blanket, and black plumes waving upon his head. In the rear came one of their principal men, dressed in a superb scarlet blanket, wearing an elegant cap and plumes, and smoking a tomahawk pipe. After these, in order, marched the stone-masons, brick-layers, painters and glaziers, cabinet and chair makers, musical-instrument makers, and the upholsterers. The decorations of the societies vied with each other in taste and variety, but that of the upholsterers excelled. The Federal chair of state was borne upon a car superbly carpeted, and above which was a rich canopy, nineteen feet high, overlaid with deep-blue satin, hung with festoons and fringes, and glittering in the sun as with 'barbaric pearl and gold'. It was sufficiently gorgeous to have filled the eye of a Persian emperor, in the height of Oriental splendor and magnificence. Twelve subdivisions of various trades succeeded in the prescribed order, after which came the most imposing part of the pageant. It was the Federal ship *Hamilton*,—a perfectly-constructed frigate of thirty-two guns, twenty-seven feet keel, and ten feet beam, with galleries and everything complete and in proportion, both hull and rigging. She was manned by thirty seamen and marines, with officers, all in uniform, and commanded by that distinguished Revolutionary veteran, Commodore Nicholson. The ship was drawn by ten horses; and, in the progress of the procession, went through every nautical preparation and movement for storms, calms, and squalls, and for the sudden shifting of winds. In passing Liberty Street, she made a signal for a

pilot, and a boat came off and put one on board. On arriving before Constable's house, Mrs. Edgar came to the window, and presented the ship with a suit of rich silk colors; the yards were instantly manned, and the sailors gave three hearty cheers. When passing Old Slip, a Spanish government-ship gave her a salute of thirteen guns, which was returned by the *Hamilton* with as much promptness as though she had actually been a ship of war upon the wide ocean. Next after the ship came the pilots and the Marine Society. To these succeeded the printers, book-binders, and stationers, led by those veterans of the type and quill, Hugh Gaine and Samuel Landon. They had a car, upon which the printers were at work; the press was plied briskly, and impressions of a patriotic ode distributed, as they were taken, among the multitude. Their banners were worthy of their proud vocation. To these succeeded twenty-one subdivisions, of as many different trades, each moving under its own banners; after which followed the learned professions and the literary societies. The lawyers were preceded by John Lawrence, Esq., supported by John Cozine and Robert Troup. The Philological Society, headed by Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Esq., the president, was the next. One of the founders of this society was Noah Webster, LL. D., the great American lexicographer, who was in the procession. The standard was borne by William Dunlap, Esq. The officers and members of the university came next, and their successors were the Chamber of Commerce and merchants, headed by John Broome, president. William Maxwell, vice-president of the Bank, followed in a chariot, and William Laight, the secretary, was mounted upon a noble steed. Physicians, strangers, and gentlemen who were members of Congress, then in session in New York, closed the civic procession; and the whole was brought up by a detachment of artillery.

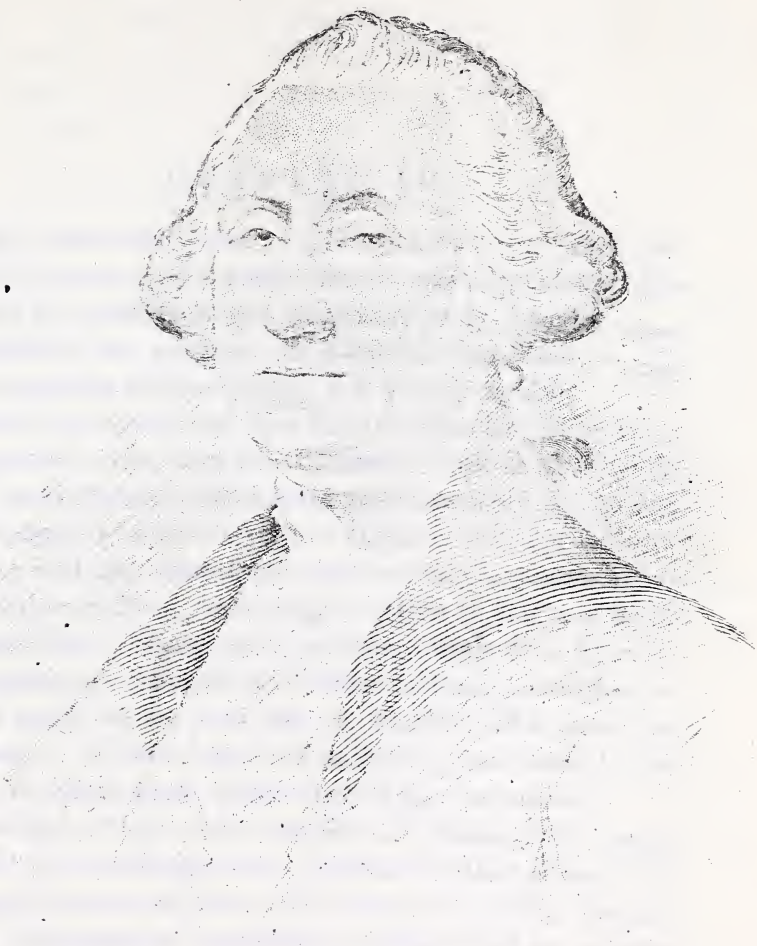
"The procession contained nearly five thousand people; and the spectacle was more solemn and imposing, and more truly splendid, than had ever before been presented to the eye of man on the American continent. It was, indeed, a pageant of indescribable interest, and, to most, of double attraction; the occasion being one in which the deepest sympathies were enlisted, and it being also the first display of pomp and circumstance which they had ever witnessed. The whole population of the city had given themselves up to the enjoyment of the occasion; and gladness, in all its fullness, was depicted in every countenance, while a noble enthusiasm swelled every bosom. The bond of union was complete, and every man felt as though his country had been rescued, in the last hour, from the most imminent peril.

"When the procession reached the country-seat of Nicholas Bayard, a noble banquet was found already spread for the whole assemblage, beneath a grand pavilion temple covering a surface of eight by six hundred feet, with plates for six thousand people. This splendid rural structure had been erected in the short space of four days, and the citizens were indebted for it to the taste and enterprise of Major L'Enfant, by whom it was designed, and under whose direction the work was executed. The two principal sides of the building consisted of three large pavilions, connected by a colonnade of about one hundred and fifty feet front, and forming two sides of an obtuse angle; the middle pavilion, rising majestically above the whole, terminated with a dome, on the top of which was Fame, with her trumpet, proclaiming a new era, and holding in her left hand the standard of the United States, and a roll of parchment on which were inscribed, in large characters, the three remarkable epochs of the War of the Revolution,—the Declaration of Independence, the Alliance with France, and the Peace of 1783. At her side

was the American eagle, with extended wings, resting on a crown of laurel gracing the top of the pedestal. Over six of the principal pillars of this colonnade, escutcheons were placed, inscribed with the ciphers of the several powers in alliance with the United States, viz.: France, Spain, Sweden, Prussia, Holland, Morocco; and over these were displayed the colors of those respective nations, which added greatly to the brilliancy of the entablature, already decorated with festoons and branches of laurels. The extremities of this angle were joined by a table forming part of a circle, and from this ten more colonnades were extended, each four hundred and forty feet in length, radiating like the rays of a circle; the whole having one common center, which was also the center of the middle pavilion, where sat the President of Congress. At the extremity of each colonnade was a pavilion, nearly similar to the three before mentioned, having their outsides terminated in a pediment crowned with escutcheons, on which were inscribed the names of the States now united. The whole of the colonnades were adorned with curtains elegantly folded, and with wreaths and festoons of laurels dispersed with beautiful and tasteful effect. The various bands of music which had enlivened the march of the procession were concentrated in the area within the angle first described, during the banquet, but so disposed as not to intercept the prospect from the seat of the president, through the whole length of the ten colonnades. The repast concluded, the procession was reorganized, and marched again into the city, and was dismissed at the Bowling Green, where the Federal ship fired a closing salute."

Thus passed the 23d of July, 1788, in the City of New York,—a day which deserves to be remembered by the patriot, the politician, and the philosopher, as that on which the people of the first city in the Western World

gave simultaneously the strongest and most enthusiastic demonstration of their attachment to the great principles of "our Federal Union," as those principles were understood by the distinguished architects who formed the civil structure. On that occasion all narrow and bigoted distinctions were lost, and absorbed in that noblest of passions,—the love of country, and the determination to secure and preserve the blessings of civil and religious liberty. ESTO PERPETUA!



was the original picture in the Boston Athenaeum
taken from life in 1795

CHAPTER II.

THE winter festivities of 1788-'89, however, were succeeded by matters of a public nature, which quickened the pulse of the politician, and excited a lively degree of attention, not only in the City of New York, but throughout the borders of the young republic.

1788.

1789.

The elections under the new Constitution had been held; WASHINGTON—the man of all others “first in the hearts of his countrymen”—had been spontaneously designated by the people as their first Chief Magistrate under the new system; and the constituted authorities elect were about to assemble in New York, to give action to the new political machinery. Congress, consisting for the first time of two branches,—a Senate and House of Representatives,—was to meet on the 4th day of March, 1789; and the thoughts of all were directed with deep solicitude to the period at which their labors were to be commenced.

The day, “big with the fate of Rome,” at length arrived; but it brought not a quorum of either House; for although the men of those days cannot be safely charged with a deficiency of patriotism, yet they had no sinister or ambitious purposes to accomplish, and, therefore, did not assemble in organized bodies of partisans at the first tap of the political drum. Adjourning over from day to day, until nearly the “ides of March” had arrived, without any accession being made to their numbers, on the 11th of that month the senators present jointly addressed

a circular letter to the absentees, urging their prompt attention to assist in putting the Government into operation. The request was repeated by letter on the 18th.

The House of Representatives was similarly circumstanced. Only thirteen members appeared on the day appointed, and these were from the five States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina,—a commonwealth which, though always proud and high-spirited, was then as anxious to come *into* the Union as she seems since to have been to break *out* of it. The members gathered in by degrees, though slowly; and the House, like the Senate, adjourned over daily, until the 1st of April, when a quorum appeared, and Frederick Augustus Muhlenburgh, of Pennsylvania, was elected Speaker. Among the most distinguished patriots then present were Roger Sherman, Fisher Ames, Richard Bland Lee, James Madison, Elias Boudinot, and Thomas Tudor Tucker.

The members of the Senate came in still more tardily; but, on the 6th of April, the arrival of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, enabled them to form a quorum and commence their labors. John Langdon was elected president of the Senate, *pro tem.*, and Samuel A. Otis, secretary. Both Houses thus being organized, they proceeded to business,—their first act being to canvass the votes returned for President and Vice-President, as prescribed in the new Constitution. At the time the election by the people was held, but ten States had placed themselves within the pale of the new Constitution. The whole number of votes cast was sixty-nine; and so entirely did the Father of his Country enjoy the affection of his children, that, without the aid of caucuses, or nominating conventions, every vote was given for GEORGE WASHINGTON. "If we look over the catalogue of the first magistrates of nations, whether they have been denominated presidents

or consuls, kings or princes, where shall we find one whose commanding talents and virtues, whose overruling good fortune, have so completely united all hearts and voices in his favor,—who enjoyed the esteem and admiration of foreign nations and his fellow-citizens with equal unanimity? Qualities so uncommon are no common blessing to the country that possesses them. But it was by these great qualities, and their benign effects, that Providence had marked out the first head of this great nation, with a hand so distinctly visible as to have been seen by all men and mistaken by none.”* By the Constitution, while it bore the unadulterated impress of the wisdom of its framers, and before it had been impaired by amendment, the candidate receiving the second highest number of votes was to be declared the Vice-President. The lot fell upon one who, during the whole combat of the Revolution, had been in the halls of legislation what his illustrious compeer had been in the field,—first in wisdom and foremost in action.†

The gratifying result having been thus ascertained agreeably to the constitutional forms, Charles Thomson, the secretary of the old Congress, was dispatched to Mount Vernon, as a commissioner, to notify the chieftain of his election. Meantime a discussion arose in both Houses, resulting in an irreconcilable difference between them, of a character at once delicate and interesting. It called forth great talent, and first awakened those feelings of democratic jealousy and distrust of titles and power, of which we have seen so much since. Not that our modern republicans are opposed, *per se*, to titles of a subordinate character, since for this species of distinction no

* Inaugural Address of the first Vice-President—the elder Adams.

† The vote stood as follows: George Washington, 69; John Adams, 34; John Jay, 9; Robert H. Harrison, 6; John Rutledge, 6; John Hancock, 4; George Clinton, 3; Samuel Huntington, 2; John Milton, 2; and one each for James Armstrong, Edward Telfair, and Benjamin Lincoln.

people on earth appear so fond, or in fact enjoy so much, or adhere to it with greater tenacity. Many of the most respectable citizens were constant listeners to the debates of which we have just been speaking; for they were not only interested in the principle involved, but loved to study the characters of those noble spirits who were now assembled to consummate the revolution which their wisdom and valor had achieved, by reducing the discordant members of the republic to order, and adjusting the details of a government, under the firm but harmonious action of which, complicated as it was, it was hoped the principles of civil and religious freedom would for ages find shelter and protection. The question at issue was upon the adoption of some respectful title by which the President of the United States should be addressed in their official intercourse with him. The first proposition in the Senate was, that the official address should be "HIS EXCELLENCY." But this was not considered as sufficiently elevated. It was at length determined by that body, that the address should be—"HIS HIGHNESS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; AND THE PROTECTOR OF THEIR LIBERTIES." But the House of Representatives obstinately refused to sanction any title whatever, and declared that the constitutional address—"TO THE PRESIDENT"—was the only title which, as consistent republicans, they could sanction. Committees of conference were appointed, but to no purpose. The indomitable spirit of the House of Representatives was not to be moved. The Senate finally resolved "that it would be proper to address the President by some respectful title; but, for the sake of harmony, they would for the present act in conformity with the House of Representatives." And thus the matter has rested to this day.

Summoned by the worthy messenger of Congress to repair to the seat of government and assume the high trust which had been conferred upon him by the people,

the progress of the President-elect, from the shades of Vernon to New York, was like a triumphant procession along the whole distance. At Philadelphia he was met by Governor St. Clair, General Mifflin, and other distinguished citizens, with the most rapturous enthusiasm. A grand banquet was prepared, of which he partook; and addresses were presented to him from all classes of the people, expressive of their gratitude for his past services, their joy for his present elevation, and their confidence in his future administration. As he passed through the streets, the welkin rang with their joyous acclamations, and shouts of "Long live George Washington, the father of his people," resounded from thousands of voices. But, however flattering would have been these spontaneous marks of popular affection to ordinary mortals, the conduct of the great chief on the occasion illustrated the republican virtue of dignified humility, and showed how excellent is glory when earned by virtue. Instead of assuming the pomp of royalty, or of any personal superiority, he sought throughout to prove himself, not only the friend of the people, but one of them.

An escort attended him from the hospitable city of Penn, until he was received by the citizens of Trenton, into which place he was conducted by the civil and military authorities of New Jersey, with every patriotic demonstration of respect and joy. This place had been rendered memorable by the capture of the Hessians, and by the repulse of the British troops near the bridge over the Delaware, the night before the Battle of Trenton. Recollecting these circumstances, the ladies of that city formed and executed the design of testifying their gratitude to the chieftain for the protection of their daughters, by celebrating those actions in their pageant. For this purpose a triumphal arch was raised on the bridge, of twenty feet span, supported by thirteen pillars, each of

which was entwined with wreaths of evergreens. The arch was covered with branches of laurel, and decorated on the inside with evergreens and flowers. Suitable inscriptions were tastefully disposed, intertwined with flowers of various hues. On the center of the arch above stood a dome bearing the dates of the glorious actions referred to, inscribed in letters of gold, and enwreathed with flowers. The summit of the dome displayed a large sun-flower, which, directing to the sun, signified, in the language of Flora, "*To you alone*,"—an emblem of the unanimity of the people in his favor. Assembled beneath the arch were many ladies, surrounded by their daughters, to welcome their former deliverer and defender. As the chieftain passed beneath the arch, a choir of girls, dressed in white, and crowned with wreaths and chaplets of flowers, sung a *sonata* composed for the occasion, commencing—

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more."

Each of the white-robed misses carried a basket of flowers, which, as the concluding line was sung—

"Strew your hero's way with flowers,"—

were scattered in the path as he advanced. The pageant was simple and beautiful; and the General returned thanks for the compliment in a card which was published at the time, and in which the white-robed maidens were particularly mentioned.

Thence to Elizabethtown, the journey of the chieftain was a continued pageant, in which no means were left untried by the people to testify their attachment to the ruler of their choice. At this point, preparations had been made to receive their illustrious fellow-citizen by the authorities of New York. A splendid barge, constructed for the occasion, and elegantly decorated, had been dispatched thither to receive the beloved soldier and states-

man in a manner corresponding with his exalted character, and the dignity of the station he was about to fill. The barge was rowed by thirteen masters of vessels,—Thomas Randall, Esq., acting as cockswain, and commanded by Commodore Nicholson. A deputation from the Senate and House of Representatives, together with the Chancellor of State, the Adjutant-General, and the Recorder of the city, proceeded to Elizabethtown in the barge, which was accompanied by two others, one being occupied by the Board of the Treasury, and the other by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of War.

The embarkation took place on the morning of April 23d—as clear and beautiful a day as could be desired. A salvo of artillery announced the departure of the flotilla from the Jersey shore, and the spectacle, as the fleet of boats which had joined the procession emerged from the narrow pass of the Kills into the noble bay of New York, was of the most animating description. From every point, the smaller craft, of all kinds and degrees, sped their way thither to join in the fleet. All the flags and nautical decorations upon which hands could be laid for the occasion were put in requisition, and were now fluttering in the breeze, as the thousand boats danced lightly over the blue waters, and the many thousands of oars, briskly plied, flashed in the sunbeams, as with every stroke they were lifted from the foam. Every ship in the harbor was gayly dressed for the occasion, excepting the *Galveston*, a Spanish man-of-war, which lay at anchor, displaying only her own proper colors. The contrast which she presented when compared with the splendid flags and streamers floating from every other vessel in the bay, especially the government-ship, the *North Carolina*, was universally observed, and the neglect was beginning to occasion unpleasant remarks; when, as the barge of the General came abreast, in an instant, as if by magic, the Spaniard displayed every

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and expansion. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for assimilation and the creation of a new American identity. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of diverse peoples, and that its history is a history of the struggle for equality and the recognition of the rights of all citizens.

The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of ideas, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the realization of the American dream. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of power, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the maintenance of the American system. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the achievement of the American ideal. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of faith, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the preservation of the American spirit. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of love, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the creation of the American family. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the maintenance of the American world. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the achievement of the American justice.

flag and signal known among nations. This handsome compliment was accompanied by a salute of thirteen guns. Salutes were also fired from the *North Carolina* and the Battery of thirteen guns each.

Stairs for the landing of the chieftain had been prepared upon Murray's Wharf, on arriving at which a salute was fired by a detachment of artillery commanded by Captain Van Dyck. He was there received by Governor Clinton, who made a congratulatory address on the occasion; together with the principal officers of the State, and the Mayor and Corporation of the city. There was a very large assemblage of people at the dock, waiting anxiously, but not impatiently, for the moment when they could greet the arrival of the great object of their proudest hopes and affections, and gratify their desires of looking—many of them again, and many others for the first time—upon that noble form and godlike countenance. There was no crowding for rank, or struggle for places, but all were respectful and decorous in their demeanor. One old man, whose head was frosted by upward of seventy winters, standing upon the wharf, was particularly noted as laboring under deep and evident emotion. He succeeded in grasping the hand of the chieftain, and, as he passed along, audibly, but involuntarily, expressed himself as follows:—
“I have beheld him when commanding the American armies; I saw him at the conclusion of peace, returning to the bosom of his family in his primeval habitation; and now I behold him returning to take the chair of the Presidentship. I have not now another wish but that he may die as he has lived, THE BELOVED OF HIS COUNTRY!”

From the landing, the chief was conducted by a numerous procession, civil and military, through Queen Street to the quarters of Governor Clinton, at Faunce's Tavern,* the large and ancient structure yet standing in

* Also known as Bolton's and Sam Francis' Tavern.

Pearl Street, on the south-east corner of Broad. The military portion of the procession consisted of Captain Stokes's dragoons, Captain Van Dyck's artillery, the German Guards of Captain Scriba, a detachment of infantry under Captains Swartwout and Steddiford, and the artillery of Colonel Bauman. Next came the Corporation, with the public officers; the President elect walked with Governor Clinton, his old companion in arms. The clergy followed in a body. The foreign ambassadors, in their carriages, came next, and the citizens promiscuously brought up the rear. The whole were under the direction of Colonel Morgan Lewis, marshal of the day, assisted by Majors Morton and Van Horne.

The day was one of unmingled joy. No former event of a civic character had more deeply arrested the public attention. The hand of labor was suspended, and the various pleasures of the city were concentrated into a single enjoyment. All ranks and professions, with one universal acclaim, joined in the loud welcome to "the Father of his Country." The city was illuminated in the evening; and many beautiful and appropriate transparencies were exhibited, creditable at once to the citizens who displayed them and to the artists by whom they were executed.

The 30th day of April, 1789, was appointed by Congress for the august ceremony of inducting the first President of our Federal Union into his exalted station. Pursuant to previous notice and concert, 1789. all the churches in the city were opened at nine o'clock on the morning of that day, and their respective congregations repaired to them, to unite in imploring the blessing of Heaven on the new government. In these enlightened days, when chaplains are voted out of legislative halls from a sensitive regard to the rights of conscience and the people's money, it may, perhaps, appear strange that such a concerted ceremony should have preceded the other

duties of the day. But the truth is, our Revolutionary forefathers were a race of men *sui generis*, and they had a way of doing things peculiar to themselves. They were in the habit of imploring the blessing of Heaven on all their important undertakings, and of returning thanks for all signal blessings; and, at the time of the establishment of the Federal Government, the march of mind had not yet been so rapid as altogether to have left this custom in forgetfulness.

At twelve o'clock, a procession was formed under the conduct of Colonel Lewis, consisting of the same detachments of the State troops which had been detailed for the reception of the President elect on his landing. The President's house was then in Cherry Street, a few doors from Franklin Square,—which was at that period the court end of the town. The procession moved thence through Queen, Great Dock, and Broad Streets, until they arrived in front of the building called Federal Hall; it having been determined that the ceremony of administering the oath should take place in the open space in front of the Senate Chamber, which was on the second story of the building, and in full view of the people who should assemble in Wall and Broad Streets as spectators. Stopping at the proper distance, the procession was divided into two parallel lines, facing inwardly, and the “observed of all observers” passed through with stately and solemn tread, attended by John Jay, General Knox, Chancellor Livingston, and other distinguished gentlemen. They were conducted, first to the Senate Chamber, where the President elect was introduced to both Houses, assembled in convention to receive him. Thence the illustrious individual was conducted to the gallery or terrace before mentioned, overlooking the two streets in which the multitude had assembled.

As the building under whose lofty pediment this im-

posing scene was exhibited has been so long swept from the face of the earth that few of the present generation have any distinct recollection of it, a description of it may aid our attempt to depict the sublime ceremony, which it is the principal design of the present chapter to bring before the reader. On the site of the old City Hall, which had served the provincials for a court-house, and was a mean, unsightly object, projecting awkwardly into Wall Street from the north, a noble edifice had been erected for the accommodation of Congress, on a plan and under the direction of Monsieur L'Enfant, a French architect, at that time in high repute, whose name we had occasion to mention in a preceding page. This building, like the first, projected into Wall Street, but permitted foot-passengers to continue their promenades through an arched way. Over this arcade was a balcony, the pediment projecting over, which was supported by four massive Doric pillars, dividing the open space into three parts, and forming an area similar in that respect to the divisions in Raphael's "Beautiful Gate of the Temple." After the adoption of the Constitution, this building was called Federal Hall.* Its front was upon Broad Street, which was terminated by it. Persons on the balcony would, consequently, be in full view from that street; and it was there, within a few yards of the Hall, that a few select spectators took their stand.

The volunteer companies of infantry were paraded in front of the Hall on Wall Street. A troop of horse, uniformed and equipped much after the manner of Lee's and Sheldon's dragoons (as may be seen in the picture of Jack Laughton, the hero of Cooper's "Spy," as painted by our distinguished countryman, Dunlop), were prominent figures. Of the foot-soldiers, the most conspicuous were

* In later years, succeeded by the Custom-house, which is now the United States Sub-treasury



John Adams

and faced with black bear-skin. A company in the full uniform of Scotch Highlanders, with the national music of the bagpipe, were seen among the military of the day, as also were several well-disciplined and well-equipped corps of light infantry and artillery. Colonel Lewis, the marshal, was assisted by Major Morton, acting aide-de-camp, as on the occasion of the landing one week before.

Both Houses of Congress, having left their respective chambers to witness the ceremony, now quite filled the balcony and the space behind it. Every part of the building was thronged. From the balcony the view of Broad Street was as of one mass, a silent and expectant throng; with faces upturned, they gazed upon the great object of their regard, as he came forth from the interior of the Hall, and took his place in the center of the balcony, between the two pillars which formed the boundaries of the middle compartment of the picture. He made his appearance in a plain suit of brown cloth, coat, waistcoat, and breeches, white silk stockings, and buckles of the simplest fashion in his shoes, and every article of his dress was of American manufacture.* His head was uncovered, his hair powdered and dressed in the prevailing fashion of that day, completed the costume in which his tall, fine figure was presented to view, at the moment which formed that epoch in the history of nations.

John Adams, the Vice-President, who had a few days previously been inducted into office without parade in the Senate, a short, athletic figure, in a somewhat similar garb, but with the old-fashioned Massachusetts wig, dressed and powdered, stood upon the right of the chieftain. Roger Sherman was seen in the group, a little behind, standing with Hamilton and many other sages and warriors, among

* Adams was also entirely clad in American fabrics on the occasion here described.

whom was the American artillerist, Knox, and the accomplished Baron Steuben.

Opposite to the President elect stood Chancellor Livingston, in a full suit of black, ready to administer the oath of office. Between them, the Secretary of the Senate, a small, short man, held the open Bible, upon a rich crimson cushion. The man on whom all eyes were fixed, stretched forth his hand with simplicity and dignity. The oath of office was administered. The Bible was raised, and his head bowed upon it to kiss the sacred volume. The Chancellor then proclaimed that it was done, in a full, distinct voice, and in the following words: "LONG LIVE GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES!" The silence of thousands was at an end,—the air was rent with acclamations, dictated by reason, and bursting from the hearts and tongues of men who felt that the happiness of themselves, their posterity, and their country was secured.

The President bowed, and, having retired to the Hall of the Representatives, where the Senate also assembled, delivered his inaugural speech. Thence, the President, accompanied by the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the members of both Houses, repaired in procession to St. Paul's Church, where Divine service was performed by Bishop Provost, the Chaplain of the Senate; and, before the adjournment of Congress, they passed a resolution requesting the President to issue his proclamation, recommending to the people of the United States to observe a day of thanksgiving and prayer, on account of the successful organization of the new Government.

Such was the spectacle; so simple, so dignified was this august ceremony! Contrast it with the impious mockery of Heaven and the degrading pageantry displayed to mislead the children of earth, which attends the coro-



nation of European potentates, and every American must feel proud, and justly proud, when he contemplates the picture it presents of the institutions and manners of his own country! "It seemed," said a young gentleman in a letter to a distant father, "to be a solemn appeal to Heaven and earth at once. Upon the subject of this great and good man," he added, "I may, perhaps, be an enthusiast; but I confess I was under an awful and religious persuasion that the gracious Ruler of the Universe was looking down at that moment with peculiar complacency upon an act which, to the American portion of His creatures, was so very important. Under this impression, when the distinguished Chancellor of New York announced, in a very feeling manner, the words 'LONG LIVE GEORGE WASHINGTON,' my sensibility was wound up to such a pitch that I could do no more than wave my hat with the rest, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air."

The proceedings of the day had all been marked by that gravity and solemnity befitting the importance of the occasion. It was, however, a day of unmingled rejoicing; and, after the more imposing civic and religious ceremonies were over, the popular feeling broke forth in the usual manifestations of gladness. The festivities closed by an illumination in the evening of unparalleled splendor, and by a display of fireworks under the direction of Colonel Bauman, of the artillery, which had only been equaled on this side of the Atlantic by the memorable pyrotechnical exhibition which took place at West Point during the Revolution, when our French allies were celebrating the birth of the Dauphin—the unfortunate young prince who subsequently, after his father's execution, himself fell a victim to that spirit of freedom which those French officers imbibed in this country, and which, running to riot after their return, drenched the whole surface of France in blood.

Great pains had been taken by the principal citizens and the public authorities in the preparation of appropriate transparencies. At the foot of Broadway a splendid painting was exhibited, representing the Virtues of FORTITUDE, JUSTICE, and WISDOM, intended as emblems—the first of the PRESIDENT, the second of the SENATE, and the third of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Of the propriety of the first, the world had had the fullest evidence; and the two others were well applied then, however great would be the solecism of such an appropriation of those attributes in later and more degenerate days. The Federal Hall was illuminated with great splendor, and attracted universal attention. The Theatre, then situated at the corner of Fly-Market Slip, was likewise tastefully illuminated by various patriotic and attractive paintings. The ship *North Carolina*, lying off the Battery, displayed a glorious pyramid of stars, lustrous and beautiful as the lamps of heaven.

The illuminations of private residences which attracted the greatest attention were those of the French and Spanish Ministers—the Count Moustier and Don Gardoqui. These Ministers both felt a lively interest in the rising destinies of the young republic, and lost no suitable occasion for testifying their friendship. Their houses were situated in Broadway, near the Bowling Green, and they seem to have exerted a generous rivalry in their preparations for celebrating this event. The illuminations of both were in a style of elegance and splendor alike novel, attractive, and beautiful. The doors and windows of Count Moustier displayed splendid borderings of lamps, with fancy pieces in each window of tasteful and complimentary designs. But the decorations of the Spaniard's mansion excelled. The *tout ensemble* formed a superbly brilliant front. The principal transparency represented the figures of the Graces, exceedingly well executed, among a pleasing variety of patriotic emblems, together

with shrubbery, arches, flowers, and fountains. The effect was greatly heightened by the disposition of moving pictures of persons and figures in the background, so skillfully devised and executed as to present the illusion of a living panorama in a little spot of fairy land.

But we will not dwell too long upon the incidents of this joyful evening, as other objects crowd upon our attention. The inauguration was succeeded by a round of *fêtes* of a different description, the recollection of which it is our design briefly to revive, before concluding the present chapter.

For several subsequent days the time of the President was much occupied in receiving visits, official and unofficial, of individuals, societies, and public bodies, calling to pay their respects to the first magistrate. In all instances, their reception was such as still more to endear the illustrious man in their affections; for, although inured to the camp, and in earlier life to the still rougher service of border warfare in the wilderness, no one could dispense the courtesies of the drawing-room, or the ceremonies of state, with more true dignity, blended with a just measure of affability and condescension, than Washington.

Extensive preparations had been made by the subscribers to the city dancing assemblies to pay the President the compliment of an Inauguration Ball. The honored lady of the chieftain, however, had not accompanied her august husband to New York, but was to follow in a few days. The anxiety for her arrival was, therefore, great; though, of course, proportionably less than it had been for the President elect himself. But a short time intervened before her approach to Elizabethtown was announced, accompanied by the lady of Robert Morris, of Philadelphia—then in the Federal Senate. She was met by the President at Elizabethtown Point, who proceeded thither, with Robert Morris and several other

gentlemen of distinction, in the barge already described, rowed, as before, by thirteen eminent pilots, in handsome white dresses. The passage through the bay again presented a brilliant spectacle; a salute was fired on passing the Battery; and, on her landing, she was welcomed by large crowds of citizens who had assembled to testify their joy.

The ball was truly an elegant entertainment. The old "City Assembly Rooms," in which it took place, were in a large wooden building standing upon the site of the old City Hotel.* In addition to the distinguished pair for whom it was given, it was honored by the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House, and most of the members of both branches of Congress; Governor (George) Clinton, Chancellor Livingston, Chief-Justice Yates, of New York; the Hon. John Jay, General Knox, the Commissioners of the Treasury; James Duane, Mayor of the city; the Baron Steuben, General Hamilton, the French and Spanish Ambassadors, and many other distinguished gentlemen, both Americans and foreigners. Never was a lady, either in public or private life, more popular than Mrs. Washington; and, from the moment of her arrival, the most respectful attentions had been paid to her by the principal ladies of the city, and by those likewise of celebrity from a distance. A numerous and brilliant collection of ladies consequently graced the saloon with their presence, and the decorations were such as in all respects comported with their presence and the proud occasion. Among the leading circles were the lady of his Excellency Governor Clinton, Lady Sterling, Lady Mary Watts, Lady Kitty

* The City Hotel—the Astor House of that day, and built by Ezra Weeks—stood on the west side of Broadway, on the block from Thames to Cedar Streets, and was for many years the most distinguished establishment of the kind in the country. It was the site of the "King's Arms Tavern" of a hundred years previous, which was also in its day one of the most prominent points of interest in the "fashionables" of "old New York."

Duer, La Marchioness De Brehan, Mrs. Langdon, Mrs. Dalton, Mrs. Duane (the Mayoress), Mrs. Peter Van Brook Livingston, Mrs. Livingston, of Clermont; Mrs. Chancellor Livingston, the Misses Livingston, Lady Temple, Madame de la Forest, Mrs. Montgomery, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Gerry, Mrs. Edgar, Mrs. McComb, Mrs. Lynch, Mrs. Houston, Mrs. Griffin, Mrs. Provost, the Misses Bayard, and many others of the most respectable families in the State and from abroad. The whole number of ladies and gentlemen at the *fête* exceeded three hundred.

There was more of etiquette in the arrangements for this complimentary ball than was thought by some to be exactly consistent with our republican institutions, and more, in fact, than was altogether agreeable to the feelings of HIM in whose honor it was observed. In connection with the managers of the assemblies, Colonel Humphries and Colonel William S. Smith were selected to adjust the ceremonies, and their arrangements were reported to have been as follows:—At the head of the room, upon a platform handsomely carpeted, and beneath a rich drapery of curtains and banners, was placed a damask-covered sofa, upon which the President and Lady Washington were to be seated. The platform was ascended by a flight of three or four steps. The costume of the gentlemen was prescribed; their hair was to be dressed in bags, with two long curls on the sides, with powder, of course, and all were to appear and dance with small swords. Each gentleman, on taking a partner to dance, was to lead her to the sofa, and make a low obeisance to the President and his lady, and repeat the ceremony of respect before taking their seats after the figure was concluded. The decorations of the assembly-room were truly splendid and very tastefully disposed.

At that time there had been no more brilliant assem-

blage of ladies in America than were collected on this occasion. Few jewels were then worn in the United States, but in other respects their dresses were rich and beautiful, according to the fashions of the day. We are not quite sure that we can describe the full dress of a lady of rank at the period under consideration so as to render it intelligible. But we will make the attempt. One favorite dress was a plain celestial blue satin gown, with a white satin petticoat. On the neck was worn a very large Italian gauze handkerchief, with border stripes of satin. The head-dress was a *pouf* of gauze, in the form of a globe, the *creneaux* or head-piece of which was composed of white satin, having a double wing, in large plaits, and trimmed with a wreath of artificial roses falling from the left at the top to the right at the bottom in front, and the reverse behind. The hair was dressed all over in detached curls, four of which, in two ranks, fell on each side of the neck, and was relieved behind by a floating *chignon*.

Another beautiful dress was a perriot, made of gray Indian taffeta, with dark stripes of the same color, having two collars, the one yellow and the other white, both trimmed with a blue silk fringe, and a reverse trimmed in the same manner. Under the perriot they wore a yellow corset or boddice, with large cross stripes of blue. Some of the ladies with this dress wore hats *à l'Espagnole* of white satin, with a band of the same material placed on the crown, like the wreath of flowers on the head-dress above-mentioned. This hat, which, with a plume, was a very popular article of dress, was relieved on the left side, having two handsome cockades, one of which was at the top and the other at the bottom. On the neck was worn a very large plain gauze handkerchief, the ends of which were hid under the boddice, after the manner represented in Trumbull's and Stuart's portraits of

lady Washington. Round the bosom of the perriot a full of gauze, *a la Henri IV*, was attached, cut in points around the edge.

There was still another dress which was thought to be very simple and pretty. It consisted of a perriot and petticoat, both composed of the same description of gray striped silk, and trimmed round with gauze, cut in points at the edges in the manner of *herrisons*. The herrisons were, indeed, nearly the sole trimmings used for the perriots, caracos, and petticoats of fashionable ladies, made either of ribands or Italian gauze. With this dress they wore large gauze handkerchiefs upon their necks, with four satin stripes around the border, two of which were narrow and the others broad. The head-dress was a plain gauze cap, after the form of the elders and ancients of a nunnery. The shoes were celestial blue, with rose-colored rosettes.

Such are descriptions of some of the principal costumes of the ladies who graced the inauguration ball of Washington; and, although varied in divers unimportant particulars by the several ladies, according to their respective tastes and fancies, yet, as with the peculiar fashions of all other times, there was a general correspondence of the outlines, the *tout ensemble* was the same.

The President and his lady were introduced and conducted through the saloon to the seat provided for them by Colonel Humphries—a man of fine accomplishments and manners. General Knox had just been appointed Secretary of War, and his lady had been charged with so far resembling Cæsar as to have been somewhat “ambitious.” Be that as it may, it was said in those days that she so arranged her own movements as to enter the saloon with the President and his lady, following them to their station and ascending the steps, with the evident design of obtaining an invitation from the President to a seat upon the honored sofa. Unluckily, however, the seat was

too narrow for the accommodation of three persons, and the lady of the war minister, with deep and apparent mortification, was compelled to descend to the level of those who had shown themselves to be less openly aspiring. No other incident worthy of especial note occurred during the evening, or none which attracted particular attention.

Among the gayest and most courteous of the cavaliers present was the Baron Steuben. Well educated and bred in a German court, having also mingled much in the splendid court circles of Louis XV, in Paris, where he had usually passed his winters previous to his emigration to America, the manners of this gallant officer were formed upon the best model of graceful ease, affability, and dignity. He was thus, perhaps, as well qualified to teach the tactics of the drawing-room as those of the field; but, too much of the real gentleman to appear in the least degree assuming, he was a universal favorite. His dress was of rich black silk velvet, with the star of his order upon his breast, and he had ever some witty or playful remark for every person and every occasion, which was received with additional interest from his German accent and the little and often ludicrous mistakes to which he was liable from his imperfect knowledge of the English idioms.

The saltatory exercises were such as were usual in those times and on great occasions. There are a few of both sexes yet living who then mingled in the dance, but the incidents of the festive night linger in their memories like the fragments of a broken vision in times that are passed. They remember only that the exercises went on

“With smooth step
Disclosing motion in its every charm,
To swim along and swell the mazy dance.”

presenting to the eye, as in Milton's beautiful description,

“Mazes intricate,
Eccentric, intervolved, yet regular
Then most, when most irregular they seem.”

The illustrious chieftain himself did not hesitate to countenance the elegant amusement by participation, as the heroes and statesmen of antiquity, the demi-gods of the Greeks and Romans, had done before him. Mrs. Peter Van Brook Livingston and Mrs. Hamilton were successively honored by the chieftain's hand in a cotillion. He afterward danced a minuet with Miss Van Zandt, subsequently the lady of William Maxwell, Esq., vice-president of the bank. There was dignity and grace in every movement of this incomparable man. But in the minuet, which is held to be the perfection of all dancing, he appeared to more than his wonted advantage. The minuet contains in itself a compound variety of as many turnings in the serpentine, which is the line of beauty, as can well be put together in distinct quantities, and is, withal, an exceedingly fine composition of movements. It is, therefore, the best of all descriptions of dancing to display the graces of person and attitude, and never did the majestic form of Washington appear to greater advantage than on the present occasion of elegant trifling. There was, moreover, youth and beauty in the countenance, grace in the step, and heaven in the eye of his fair partner.

Shortly after the brilliant spectacle which we have thus attempted but imperfectly to describe, the President was complimented by another similar *fête*, which he also honored by his presence, given by the French minister. The pageant was one of uncommon elegance, both as it respected the character of the company and the plan of the entertainment. As a compliment to the alliance of the United States and France, there were two sets of cotillion dances in complete uniforms. The uniform of France was worn by one set, and that of the United States—the Revolutionary blue and buff—by the other. The ladies were dressed in white, with ribands, bouquets, and garlands of flowers, answering to the uniforms of the gentlemen. But it would be

alike wearisome and unnecessary to enter into further particulars

The levees of President Washington were far more select and courtly than are those of the Presidents of later days. They were numerously attended by all that was fashionable, elegant, and refined in society; but there were no places for the intrusion of the rabble in crowds, or for the more coarse and boisterous partisan, the vulgar electioneerer, or the impudent place-hunter, with boots, and frock-coats, or roundabouts, or with patched knees and holes at both elbows.

Proud of her husband's exalted fame, and jealous of the honors due, not only to his own lofty character, but to the dignified station to which a grateful country had called him, Mrs. Washington was careful in her drawing-rooms to exact those courtesies to which she knew he was entitled, as well on account of personal merit as of official consideration. Fortunately, moreover, democratic rudeness had not then so far gained the ascendancy as to banish good manners, and the charms of social intercourse were heightened by a reasonable attention in the best circles to those forms and usages which indicate the well-bred assemblage, and fling around it an air of elegance and grace which the envious only affect to decry, and the innately vulgar only ridicule and contemn. None, therefore, were admitted to the levees but those who had either a right by official station to be there, or were entitled to the privilege by established merit and character, and full dress was required of all.*

* Some show, if not of state, at least of respect for the high officer they were to visit, was exacted down to the close of Mr. Madison's administration. Mr. Monroe required less formality and attention to dress, and the second President Adams less still. But respect and reverence for the office still kept the multitude, who had no business there, from the President's drawing-rooms until the year 1829, when—but *tempora mutantur!*

Mrs. Washington was a pleasing and agreeable, rather than a splendid woman. Her figure was not commanding, but her manners were easy, conciliatory, and attractive. Her domestic arrangements were always concerted under her own eye, and everything within her household moved forward with the regularity of machinery. No daughter of Eve ever worshipped her lord with more sincere and affectionate veneration; and none had ever cause to render greater or more deserved homage. When absent, he was ever in her thoughts, and her mild eyes kindled at his presence. She was well educated, and possessed strong native sense, guided by all necessary prudence and discretion. She rarely conversed upon political subjects, and when the most expert diplomatists would attempt to draw her out, she had the faculty of turning the course of conversation with equal dexterity and politeness. At all the President's entertainments, whether at the table or in the drawing-room, notwithstanding the regard to etiquette heretofore adverted to, there was, nevertheless, so much kindness of feeling displayed, and such an unaffected degree of genuine hospitality, that golden opinions were won alike from the foreign and domestic visitors.

In those days late hours were not necessary to fashion; and many of our fair metropolitan readers, who are in the habit of dressing at ten to enter a distant drawing-room at eleven, will doubtless be surprised to learn that Mrs. Washington's levees closed always at nine! This was a rule which that distinguished lady established on the occasion of holding her first levee, on the evening of January 1st, 1790. The President's residence was in the Franklin House, at the head of Cherry Street. "The day," says a letter* of John Pintard, Esq.—who was then in the hey-day of youth and life, mingling with the fashionable world—"was uncommonly mild and pleasant.

* To Colonel Morris, of the *New York Mirror*.

It was about full moon, and the air so bland and serene, that the ladies attended in their light summer shades. Introduced by the aids and gentlemen in waiting, after being seated, tea, coffee, plain and plum cake were handed round. Familiar and friendly conversation ensued, and kind inquiries, on the part of Mrs. Washington, after the families of the exiles, with whom she had been acquainted



WASHINGTON'S RESIDENCE IN 1790, AS IT APPEARED IN 1850.

during the Revolutionary War, and who always received marked attention from General Washington. Mrs. Washington stood by the side of the General in receiving the respects of the visitors. * * * * Amid the social chit-chat of the company, the Hall clock struck *nine*. Mrs. Washington thereupon rose with dignity, and, looking around the circle with a complacent smile, observed: 'The



M. Washington

General always retires at nine, and I usually precede him.' At this hint the ladies instantly rose, adjusted their dresses, made their salutations and retired."

General Washington had, on that day, been waited upon by the principal gentlemen of the city, according to the ancient New York custom of social and convivial visiting on that day. "After being severally introduced, and paying the usual compliments of the season," says Mr. Pintard, "the citizens mutually interchanged their kind greetings, and withdrew, highly gratified by the friendly notice of the President, to most of whom he was personally a stranger." In the course of the evening, while speaking of the occurrences of the day, Mrs. Washington remarked: "Of all the incidents of the day, none so pleased the General," by which title she always designated him, "as the friendly greetings of the gentlemen who visited him at noon." To the inquiry of the President, whether it was casual or customary, he was answered that it was an annual custom, derived from our Dutch forefathers, which had always been commemorated. After a short pause, he uttered these remarkable words: "*The highly-favored situation of New York will, in the process of years, attract numerous emigrants, who will gradually change its ancient customs and manners; but let whatever changes take place,* NEVER FORGET THE CORDIAL, CHEERFUL OBSERVANCE OF NEW-YEAR'S DAY."

CHAPTER III.

IN the year 1792, the construction of the TONTINE BUILDING was begun by an association of merchants, organized in 1790, and incorporated in 1794, under the name of the "Tontine Association." Its object was to provide a business center for the mercantile community. The original building fronted what was then known as Coffee-house Slip—now the corner of Wall and Water Streets. The merchants had long felt the need of some place where they could assemble and discuss the probable results of trade and the various questions of the time, and, during their leisure, indulge in a cup of prime old coffee, without walking to their distant homes in State Street, Bowling Green, and the lower part of Greenwich Street. Among the merchants who pushed forward the enterprise were John Broome, John Watts, Gulian Verplanck, John Delafield, and William Laight. In the vicinity of Broad and Pearl Streets was the old Merchants' Coffee-house; and in front of that, on December 1st, 1791, the sheriff of New York, Marinus Willett, sold under a writ of *venditioni exponas*, the dwelling and lot of land then "in the tenure and occupation of Anthony Bleecker, formerly held by Francis Lucas, and known as No. 22 Wall Street, reserving the right of way, 'if they have any right to it,' through an alley adjoining one side of the said property, and leading from the adjoining farm and garden of Francis Clark."

The property was purchased by the five merchants already mentioned, for the sum of £2,510, and held by them under the provisions of the Tontine Association, as its first board of directors.

On the 31st of January, 1792, the same gentlemen bought of Dr. Charles Arding and Abigail his wife, "all that certain corner house and land bounded south-easterly by Water Street, south-westerly by Wall Street, north-westerly and south-easterly by houses and land lately purchased by them," for the sum of £1,970, current money of the State of New York. On August 22d, 1792, Hugh Gainé, Thomas Roach, and John Keese, commissioners appointed by the Court of Common Pleas, then called the Mayor's Court, in settling the large estate of the late Mordecai Gomez, chocolate-maker, conveyed to the same board of directors, for the sum of £1,000, "all that certain messuage and lot of land situate, lying, and being in the Second Ward, formerly the East Ward, of the City of New York, bounded south-easterly in front by Water Street, north-westerly in the rear by a part of a lot of land lately purchased by the parties to these presents of the second part, of the sheriff of the city and county of New York, under a decree of the Court of Chancery; north-easterly by a house and lot of land late the property of Joseph Royall, deceased, and south-westerly by a house and lot of land lately purchased by the said party of Dr. Charles Arding, and containing in breadth in front and rear at each end, eighteen feet four inches, and in length on each side thirty feet, English measure."

This transaction completed the purchases of land for the Tontine Coffee-house, and the massive building given in the cut on next page, with its heavy wooden cornice, railed balcony, and long stoop or piazza, with steps at each end, soon rose from the ruins of the houses of Mordecai Gomez and Dr. Arding.

There was another Tontine society called the New York Tontine Hotel and Assembly Rooms' Association, and on September 27th, 1793, Peter De Lancey and Elizabeth his wife, sold to Philip Livingston, John Watts, Thomas Buchanan, Gulian Verplanck, James Watson, Moses Rogers, James Farquhar, Richard Harrison, and Daniel Ludlow, a lot of land bounded east by Broadway, west by Temple Street, south by Thames Street, and north



TONTINE COFFEE-HOUSE AS IT APPEARED IN 1812.

by Little Queen Street, subject to such rights of survivorship as the majority of the subscribers should decide. Some years after, during a season of sharp political excitement, the Fifth Ward Tontine was started, for the purpose of making real-estate owners of enough young men to carry a majority vote in the election. The vote was cast, but the city authorities declared it illegal, and that association caused no further public notice.

On the completion of the Tontine Coffee-house, the Merchants' Exchange was removed to it from the dilapidated building in the middle of Broad Street, below Pearl, where it had been since the war.

In 1793 war was declared between France and England; and on the 9th of April, five days after the news was received at New York, Citizen Genet arrived at Charleston as the accredited Minister to the United States from the new French republic. The war placed this Government in an embarrassing position; for, bound to France by obligations of gratitude as well as by the conditions of a treaty of alliance, it was pledged also by the Federal policy to preserve a strict neutrality in European wars. Alexander Hamilton, at the head of the Federalists, insisted that the treaty had been annulled by the change in the French government; or, in any event, did not apply in case of an offensive war. Washington inclined to the latter opinion; and, while he received Genet as the Minister of the republic, proclaimed the strictest neutrality in respect to warlike operations. This greatly displeased the anti-Federalists, who cheered on the new republic, and aided Genet in fitting out privateers to cruise against the enemies of France. Genet reached New York on the 8th of August, and was welcomed by salvos of artillery and pealing bells, saluting republican France. On the 12th of June, the *Ambuscade*, which had brought Genet to America, arrived at New York, and her officers and crew were received and entertained with much enthusiasm by the anti-Federalists. The Liberty Cap was hoisted on the flag-staff of the Tontine Coffee-house, and all true patriots exhorted to protect it; tri-color cockades were worn; the "Marseillaise" was sung; and, for a time, New York wore almost the aspect of a French city.

During the year ending April 2d, 1811, the association was called to mourn the decease of Gulian Verplanck,

William Laight, and John Broome. The board of directors was reduced to John Watts and John Delafield, who, in conformity with the second section of the Constitution—that, whenever the trustees, in whom the fee-simple is vested, be reduced to less than three, then five others should be elected, and the property conveyed to them—transferred their trust to Richard Varick, Matthew Clarkson, Francis B. Winthrop, John B. Coles, and Gulian Ludlow. The old Coffee-house was then in full operation, but who can tell us of the scenes therein? Who can call back the voices of the old merchants of that day, and repeat the stories they often laughed over in the Coffee-house on “opening night?”

At length the Merchants' Exchange moved further up Wall Street, and sales of merchandise were not so frequent within the old house, but the long stoop on the Wall Street front was still used, and the advertisements of the day read, “At X o'clock, in front of the Tontine Coffee-house, will be sold ——.”

In 1826 and 1827 the Tontine Coffee-house was in the hands of John Morse, who had formerly kept the old Stage-house at the corner of Church and Crown Streets, New Haven. He turned the entire house into a tavern, and it so remained for several years. The first floor was in one room, running the full length of the house, and fronting Wall Street. At the back of the room, extending nearly its whole length, was the old-fashioned bar. Jutting out from the counter were curious arms of brass supporting the thick, round, and mast-like timber on which the heavy dealers leaned while ordering refreshments. About the room were numerous small tables, and after supper, in fair weather, around the tables could be seen many of the wealthy city men diminishing the contents of their pewter mugs, or planning, amid the curling smoke in the room, their operations for the next day. Morse was not success-

ful in the Tontine, and was finally sold out for the benefit of "whom it might concern."

In 1832, it was kept as a hotel by Lovejoy & Belcher, and was the scene of several brilliant Masonic dinners. The lodges, in annual parade, would march from the City Hotel, on Broadway, down to Broad Street; through Broad to Pearl, and through Pearl Street to Wall and the Coffee-house—which they thought a long tramp. After the banquet, the march would be resumed along Pearl to Beekman Street, up Beekman to Chatham Street, down Chatham to Broadway and the City Hotel.

In 1834, the Court of Chancery issued a decree removing the restrictions by which the Tontine Association were required to maintain the building as a Coffee-house, and it was then leased for general business purposes. In 1834, two brothers named Hudson came to New York, from Boston, and established on the first floor of the house a news-room, on the plan of that one now in Pine Street, near William. They also originated the *Express* newspaper, the early numbers of which were printed in the old Tontine.

The balcony had been removed, the interior of the building somewhat changed, but the memory of happy hours spent within its walls thrilled the hearts of the gallant bands of men who composed the old volunteer Fire Department when the bells struck off the first alarm for the great fire of 1835.

Down through the narrow streets, amid the rush and roar of the flames, the dense volumes of smoke and the crash of falling warehouses, the firemen fought for every inch of ground. Streets were obliterated by the ruins, block after block of stores and dwellings vanished in the crimson cloud that surged and rolled over them. At length the flames reached the old Tontine, and the cornice took fire. Among the bravest of the brave throughout

that fight was the daring company of Engine No. 10. As the cry went out, "There goes the old Tontine," the brakes of No. 10 began to work with great vigor, and a stalwart fireman, who held the pipe, directed the stream against the threatened building. The atmosphere, unusually cold even for December, caught the spray from the upward stream and dashed it in icy particles back on the face and clothing of the sturdy pipeman. Three times the cornice caught fire, and each time the pipe of No. 10 saved the Tontine. The plucky fireman was John Betts, formerly a clerk with Hoffman & Glass, auctioneers, afterwards with Glass & Gerard, and more recently of the firm of Gerard & Betts. He is still living, and will doubtless remember that, when he gave up the pipe at the Tontine fire, the palms of his gloves, frozen to the pipe, were left on it when he went away.

After the fire, and in 1836, the Hudson Brothers gave up the news-room, and the lessee of the building, Peter McCarty, engaged Mr. James W. Hale to continue the establishment, which was then called "Hale's News-room." Mr. Hale occupied the whole of the lower floor as the news-room; and Caldwell & Kenyon kept a restaurant in the basement. Caldwell & Kenyon afterwards sold out to Charles Ridabock, familiarly known as the "Alderman." Charles was a heavy, good-natured German, who kept the dirtiest shop and the best oysters in the city. He had been for many years an employee of George Washington Brown, at the Auction Hotel, in Pearl Street. He remained at the Tontine until just before the house was torn down.

In 1843, the Legislature changed the name to the "Tontine Building," and gave the management of its affairs into the hands of "The Committee of the Tontine Building."

The old Tontine was also the birth-place of what is

now one of the institutions of our country—its express system. It was here, in 1837, that Mr. J. W. Hale originated the package and letter express business, and started William F. Harnden for Boston, three times a week, with his little carpet-bag seldom more than half full. His only advertisement was a slate hung up in the News-room, and in a stationer's office at the corner of Nassau and Wall Streets. The first customers of the express were the visitors to Hale's News-rooms.

As there were no lines of mail steamers then running, foreign correspondence was always sent by packet-ships and other sailing vessels, the letter-bags for which were kept at Hale's, as were also those of the steamers *Sirius* and *Great Western*, after they commenced running to New York.

In 1855, the *New York Journal of Commerce*, speaking of the Tontine Coffee-house, said:

"There are few, however, whose age links them to the olden time, when it was the chief center of the commercial interests, who cannot recall scenes within its walls 'the like whereof we ne'er shall see again.' A public meeting convened within its roof, sent forth a decision which was almost universally respected. As a single instance of this, let us turn back for forty years, when the habit of distributing expensive scarfs to bearers and others at ordinary funerals was so prevalent, that many poor families were sorely pinched to provide this necessary mark of respect for a departed relative. Some benevolent individuals, seeing the evil influence of such a fashion, called a meeting at the Coffee-house, when nearly two hundred of those whose weight of character gave force to their decisions, signed a pledge to abstain from the custom of distributing scarfs, except to the attendant ministers and physicians. This was the death-knell of the oppressive fashion. In matters of more vital moment, when great public interests were at stake, a voice has gone out from the Coffee-house, which, like a recent echo from Castle Garden, has been heard throughout the length and breadth of the land. Some of the noblest charities, too, which the world has ever witnessed, received their first contributions beneath this time-hallowed roof.

"But the history of this organization is highly instructing in another point of view. The longevity of the nominees has been remarkable, we believe, beyond any similar experiment of the kind ever witnessed. It is true that the circumstances under which their names were selected would naturally lead us to expect for them a longer average period of existence, but this average has been so far extended as to be quite extraordinary. Of the two hundred and three, whose names were handed in about sixty-one years ago, fifty-one

still survive! Of these, the youngest is about sixty-two, and the oldest eighty-three. This is about one-third greater longevity than the average of European estimates. Only three of the nominees died in 1854, or one in every eighteen, which, considering their average age, was very remarkable."

In 1855, during the month of May, the old building was demolished, and the ground leased to Mr. William H. Aspinwall, with the condition that he should pay to the Tontine Association, as rent, the sum of \$5,500 per annum, and should pay all taxes and assessments levied by the city upon the ground, and upon such buildings as should be upon it; also, that the said lease should expire and all the buildings upon the ground should revert to the association when by death the nominees should be reduced to seven. Mr. Aspinwall caused the erection of the present building soon after he obtained the lease.

The walls are of Massachusetts yellow free-stone, the keystones in the arches of the windows and doors being of the same material. On the left of the picture, on the Wall Street front, is seen the narrow alley mentioned in the title deeds, showing that the heirs of Francis Clark had the right of way in 1791.*

The death of Mr. John P. De Wint, at Fishkill, in November, 1870, severed the last link in the Tontine

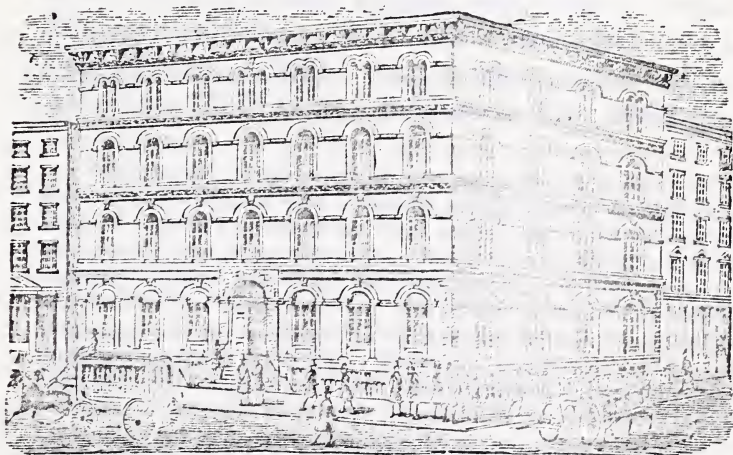
* The interior is cut up into offices, a large shaft near the rear of the hall-way giving room for the main staircase and the facilities for ventilation. The history of the building since 1855 has not differed so much from that of others in the vicinity as to make a detailed sketch of it necessary, but an incident of 1858 may be worth relating. The office of Messrs. W. T. Coleman & Co., the shipping merchants, was on the first floor of the new building, and the senior member of the firm was seated at his desk one afternoon, busily examining the papers of a California ship nearly ready to sail. A hack was driven up to the door. A moment after, a hearty slap on the shoulder started Mr. Coleman, and the nasal tones of a gentleman from "down East" resounded in his ear—"Saay, Squire, jest yeou give me tlie best room in ther heouse, will yer?"

Mr. Coleman.—"This is not a tavern, sir. It's the office of the California packets."

Stranger.—"No! Well, I hain't been to York for thirty year, but used to come pretty often then, and always stopped at the old Tontine Coffee-house."

Mr. Coleman kindly directed the stranger to the Astor House, and thither the old guest of the Tontine was hurried.

chain, the lease of the building terminated, the property reverted to the owners of the shares represented by the surviving seven nominees, and the affairs passed into the hands of Mr. Frederick De Peyster, and Mr. W. T. Horn, as attorney. The surviving nominees are Robert Benson, Jr., William Bayard, Gouverneur Kemble, Horatio Gates Stevens, Daniel Hoffman, Mrs. William P. Campbell, and Mrs. John A. King. The heirs of George Bright, who died two years after he nominated Gouverneur Kemble,



TONTINE BUILDING AT THE PRESENT DAY.

have yet to be found. The property will then be sold, and the Tontine Association, like the old Coffee-house, things of the shadowy past, will go down into the grave of memory with its epitaph, "Well done," written on it by the merchants of New York.*

On the 12th day of May, 1789, about two weeks after General Washington had taken the oath of office, as the

* This sketch of the TONTINE ASSOCIATION is taken from an article published in the *New York Journal of Commerce*, July 25th, 1871:

For the constitution of the Tontine Coffee-house, in 1796, see Appendix No I.

first Chief Magistrate of the United States, the oldest political organization in the city now in existence, and which has recently (1871) been the subject of much obloquy—the TAMMANY SOCIETY, or COLUMBIAN ORDER—was instituted.*

The year following (1790), a most interesting event in the history of this organization occurred, which, at the time, excited considerable interest among the citizens of New York. The United States had long been desirous of forming a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Creek Indians, and various unsuccessful attempts had been made to effect this object. At length, Colonel Marinus Willet went to that nation, and induced Alexander McGilvery, a half-breed, with about thirty of

* The history of the origin of this name—which is involved in much obscurity—is as follows:—ST. TAMMANY was the name of an Indian chief, who has been *popularly* canonized as a saint, and adopted as the tutelary genius of one branch of the Democratic party. TAMMANY or TAMMENUND (the name is variously written), was of the Delaware nation, and lived probably in the middle of the seventeenth century. He resided in the country which is now Delaware, until he was of age, when he moved beyond the Alleghanies, and settled on the banks of the Ohio. He became a chief sachem of his tribe, and, being always a friend of the whites, often restrained his warriors from deeds of violence. His rule was always discreet, and he endeavored to induce his followers to cultivate agriculture and the arts of peace, rather than those of war. When he became old, he called a council to have a successor appointed, after which the residue of his life was spent in retirement; and tradition relates that “young and old repaired to his wigwam to hear him discourse wisdom.” His great motto was, “Unite in peace for happiness, in war for defense.” Where and by whom he was first styled SAINT, or by what whim he was chosen to be the patron of the Democracy, does not appear.

The New York *Daily Gazette* for May 12th, 1790, contains the following list of the officers of this order:

“The Society of St. Tammany, being a national society, consists of Americans born, who fill all offices, and adopted Americans, who are eligible to the honorary posts of warrior and hunter.

“It is founded on the true principles of patriotism, and has for its motives, charity and brotherly love.

“Its officers consist of one grand sachem, twelve sachems, one treasurer, one secretary, one door-keeper; it is divided into thirteen tribes, which severally represent a State; each tribe is governed by a sachem, the honorary posts in which are one warrior and one hunter.”

the principal chiefs, to come to this city. The Tammany Society determined to receive them with great ceremony. The members, at that day, were accustomed to dress in the Indian costume, and on this occasion they wore feathers, moccasins, leggings, painted their faces, and sported huge war-clubs and burnished tomahawks. When the Creeks entered the wigwam, they were so surprised to see such a number of their own race, that they set up a whoop of joy which almost terrified the people present. On the occasion of this interview, Governor George Clinton, Chief-Justice Jay, Mr. Duane, the Mayor, Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, and other distinguished men were present. The Creeks were overjoyed with their reception; they performed a dance, and sang the E-tho song. Mr. Smith, the Grand Sachem of the Society, made a speech to the Indians, in which he told them that, although the hand of death was cold upon those two great chiefs, Tammany and Columbus, their spirits were walking backward and forward in the wigwam. The Sagamore presented the chiefs with the calumet, and one of them dubbed the Grand Sachem "TULIVA MICO, or Chief of the White Town." In the evening they went to the theater, attended by the Sachems and members. Before they left the city they entered into a treaty of friendship with "Washington, the Beloved Sachem of the Thirteen Fires," as they were pleased to call him.

In June, of the same year, the Society established a museum for the purpose of collecting and preserving everything relating to the history of the country. A room was granted for its use in the City Hall, and Gardiner Baker was appointed to take charge of the collection. In 1794, it was removed to a brick building standing directly in the middle of the street, at the intersection of Broad and Pearl Streets, called the Exchange. The lower part was used as a market, but the upper part, being light

and airy, was well calculated for displaying the many curiosities which now, by the indefatigable exertions of

Mr. Baker, had been collected. On the 25th of 1795.

June, 1795, the Society passed a resolution relinquishing to Gardiner Baker all their right and title to the museum. He had taken so much pains and incurred so much expense in getting it up, that he could, with good reason, make a claim upon it. It was, therefore, given up to him, upon condition that it should be forever known as the "Tammany Museum," in honor of its founders, and that each member of his family should have free access to it. This museum, after the death of Baker, was sold to Mr. W. I. Waldron, and, after passing through various hands, formed the foundation of what was afterwards called the "American" or "Scudder's Museum," in Chatham Street.*

In September of the same year (1795) the city was visited by that dreaded scourge, the yellow-fever, when seven hundred and thirty-two persons died from the disease. In speaking of the situation at this time, the *New York Journal*, of October 17th, says: "This city has been in a truly melancholy situation; although the accounts of the mortality have been greatly exaggerated in the country. Consternation has added greatly to the distress of the city; the poor have suffered much, but their wants have been liberally supplied from the hands of benevolent donors. Very little business has been done—a *solemn calm* has reigned through every street. We are now blessed with salubrious western gales, which are conceived to be sent in mercy, and presage to our hopes that the city will be free from the epidemic in a little time. It certainly puts on a less terrible hue—not more than one

* *History of the Tammany Society*, by R. G. Horton.

in twenty dies. Those who have died were the greatest part new residents."

In the month of December, 1796, the Fish-market was torn down for the purpose of arresting a very destructive fire. This conflagration is thus noticed in the *Minerva** for December 9th, 1796: "About one o'clock this morning, a fire broke out in one of the stores on Murray's Wharf, Coffee-house Slip. The number of buildings consumed may be from fifty to seventy—a whole block between the above slip, Front Street, and the Fish Market. The progress of the fire was finally arrested by cutting down the Fish Market."

So many fires occurring at about the same time, led many of the citizens to believe that the slaves were again conspiring to destroy the city. Great excitement was caused and much preparation made to guard against such a calamity. The same paper, of the 14th instant following, says:—" *Serious Cause of Alarm*: Citizens of New York, you are once more called upon to attend to your safety. It is no longer a doubt—it is a fact, that there is a combination of incendiaries in this city, aiming to wrap the whole of it in flames! The house of Mr. Lewis Ogden, in Pearl Street, has been twice set on fire—the evidence of malicious intent is indubitable—and he has sent his *black man*, suspected, to prison. Last night an attempt was made to set fire to Mr. Lindsay's house, in Greenwich Street—the combustibles left for the purpose are preserved as evidence of the fact. Another attempt, we learn, was made last night in Beekman Street. A bed was set on fire under a child, and his cries alarmed his family. Rouse, fellow-citizens and magistrates! your lives

* The *Minerva* (then edited by Noah Webster) a few years afterwards changed its name to the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, Zachariah Lewis assuming its editorship. In 1824 it again changed hands, Messrs. Stone and Hall becoming its proprietors.

and property are at stake. Double your night-watch, and confine your *servants*."

The Common Council, on the 15th December, passed resolutions offering five hundred dollars reward for the conviction of offenders, and recommended that good citizens in the several wards should arrange themselves into companies or classes, "to consist of such numbers as shall be necessary for the purpose of keeping such watch for the safety of the city." A citizen of that day, in writing to a friend, also says: "The yellow-fever produced not such extraordinary commotion. The present alarm, as it is contagious, may be called the *fire-fever*." The "fever," however, soon died out, as the precautions taken had the desired effect, even if there had been any actual design of conspiracy.

In the summer of 1798 the city was again visited by the yellow-fever; and so fearful was it in its effects this time that the year was known for many years afterward as the "Dreadful yellow-fever year." It came on so suddenly that many were seized with it before they were really aware of its presence. So fatal was it in August that nearly one half of the cases reported died; but, before it had run its course, the proportion diminished one third. The horror of the situation, moreover, was greatly increased by the fact that the country people, becoming naturally alarmed, would not bring their produce into the city, although every encouragement was given them. "No fees [licenses?] were demanded of the country people bringing provisions to our markets." The committee appointed to afford relief to the indigent and distressed sick, in a communication to the public, say: "We entreat our fellow-citizens of the surrounding country not to withhold from the markets the usual supplies of poultry and *small meats*, as well as other articles so essentially necessary to

both sick and well, in this city, in this distressed season.”* These appeals were, it is pleasant to know, answered by many of the citizens who had left the city; while others, living in New Jersey, Long Island, and elsewhere, sent large sums of money, as well as gifts of beef, pork, mutton, butter, cheese, flour of all kinds, poultry and vegetables by the wagon and sloop load. But, notwithstanding all that was done to alleviate it, the ravages of the fever were frightful, since 2,086 deaths were registered in a few short months—a very large proportion, considering the population of the city at this time.

Indeed, many of the slabs which still appear in the grave-yards of Trinity and St. Paul's, in the midst of the crowded and busy street, mark the resting-places of the victims of this fell destroyer. Sad, however, 1793.
is the reflection how very short a period do the memorials reared to the memory of the dead, by the hand of surviving friendship and affection, endure! A few, a very few, brief years, and the head-stone has sunk, the slab is broken, the short column, or shaft, overturned. Yet, while they *do* remain, they are often mementos of many interesting incidents or endearing recollections.

An incident of this description, connected with the pestilence of the year, now rises upon the memory; and, as its relation will wound none among the living, we will repeat it.

There is a humble free-stone now standing in Trinity Church-yard, so near the street that the bright and laughing eyes of beauty and pleasure can look upon it any day as their possessors are tripping along Broadway. It stands beneath the tree at the corner of Trinity Buildings, now 111 Broadway; and the inscription yet retains the name of Mrs. Isidore Johnson. The deceased was young

* *Daily Advertiser*, September 28th, 1793.

and beautiful, full of intelligence and vivacity when she was married, a few months before the breaking out of the fever. One Sunday afternoon, soon after the fever had commenced, and before there was much alarm, walking down Broadway, leaning upon the arm of her husband, by whom she was adored, and whom she adored in turn, in company with a friend, who was also newly married, the topic of conversation naturally turned upon the epidemic. Mrs. Johnson, whose natural buoyancy of spirits perhaps imparted, even at that moment, an appearance of light-heartedness she did not feel, was remarkably lively and cheerful. In passing the spot we have indicated, where the tree was then casting its refreshing shade upon the green sward beneath, she suddenly stopped, and, looking up into her husband's face with a sweet, though slightly pensive smile, remarked with the utmost *naïveté*, "There, husband, if I die of the yellow-fever, bury me here." On the very next Friday, she *was* buried there!

CHAPTER IV.

THE opening of the nineteenth century found New York vastly improved. As commerce and trade revived, it was found necessary to enlarge the grounds of the city, and give it a more *presentable* appearance 1800. to the many foreigners who had already begun to flock thither for trade. The city now numbered twenty-three thousand souls, exclusive of a floating population, large even for that early day. Reade and Duane Streets were laid out and opened to the public in 1794. The waste grounds around the Collect were filled in and graded; a canal, following the present Canal Street (whence the name), was cut through from the Collect to the North River, with a view of draining the Lispenard meadows; the beautiful lake was filled up and made firm ground; the grade of Broadway, from Duane to Canal Streets, was determined upon by the city authorities; the streets had received numbers; the United States Navy-yard, at Brooklyn, had been begun; the plan of the present modern city, with its parallel streets and broad avenues, had been adopted; Washington, Union, Madison, and Tompkins Squares had been laid out; the great salt meadow on the eastern side of the city had been drained, and already, in imagination, divided into building-lots; and, as the grand step in this march of improvement, New York received, in 1790, her first sidewalks, which were laid on both sides

of Broadway, from Vesey to Murray Streets. True, these sidewalks were only narrow pavements of brick, scarcely allowing two lean men to walk abreast, or one fat man alone; still they were far preferable to walking in the middle of the streets on cobble-stones, especially if a person had corns. At this time, also, Nassau and Pine Streets were what the upper part of Fifth Avenue is now. Pearl (then Queen) Street, from Hanover Square to John Street, was the abode of wealth and fashion. Wall Street, now given over to the sordid purpose of Mammon, was the gay promenade on bright afternoons, and there many a gallant's heart has been pierced by glances shot from beneath the frizzled locks of the fair sex; while the beaux, with their powdered curls before, and their neat black silk bags behind the head, their laced ruffles, and desperately square-toed shoes, were equally *comme il faut*. The City Hall stood at the foot of Nassau Street. Just below it was the elegant mansion of Mr. Gulian Verplanck, and immediately opposite, on the corner of Broad Street, was the Watch-house; while further down, at the corner of New Street, stood Becker's Tavern, then a place of great resort. In Nassau Street resided the Jays, Waddingtons, Radcliffes, Brinckerhoffs, and other prominent families. Where the Merchants' Exchange now stands were the residences of Thomas Buchanan, Mrs. White, and W. C. Leffingwell; while in Pearl Street were the fashionable dwellings of Samuel Denton, John Ellis, John J. Glover, John Mowatt, Robert Lennox, Thomas Cadle, John B. Murray, Lieutenant-Governor Broome, Andrew Ogden, Governor George Clinton, and Richard Varick. Near the location of the present City Hall was the Alms-house, with the Bridewell on one side and the prison on the other. Grenzeback's grocery stood where French's Hotel now stands. There were but three or four buildings on the block where Tammany Hall lately stood, one of which, nearly on the

present site of the *Tribune* Building, was a place of great resort for military men. The only remnants of the neighborhood at that time are the wooden shanties, with their moss-covered roofs, which now disfigure Chatham Street, opposite Center.*

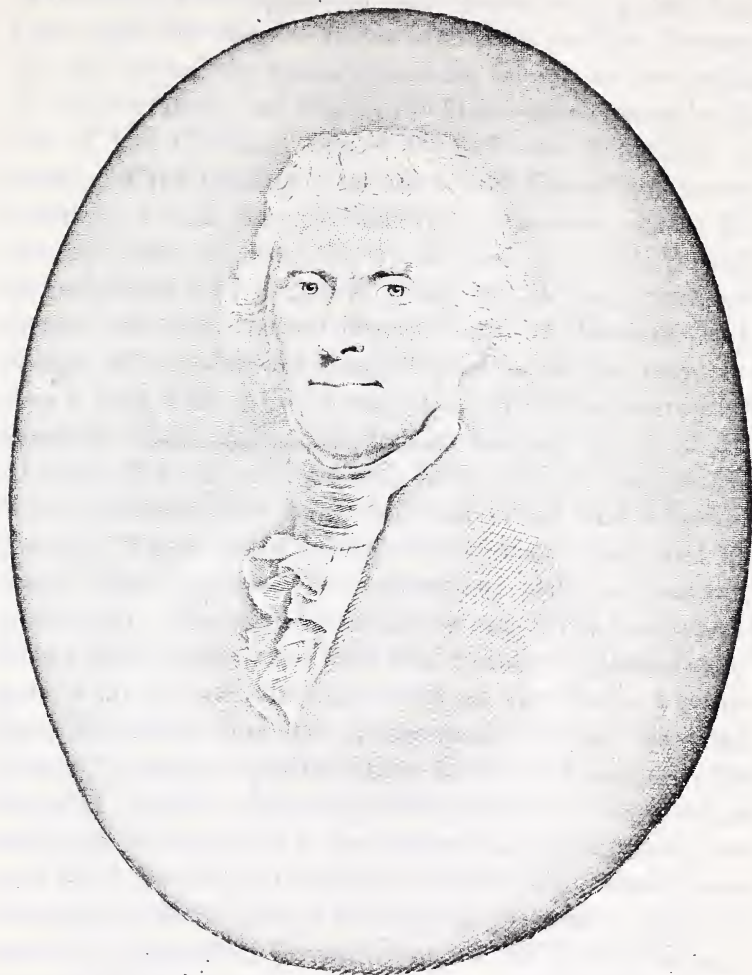
In regard to the society and social life of the city at this period, it is true that New-Englanders had even then begun a brisk emigration thither, but the Dutch inhabitants as yet greatly preponderated, while the Anglo-New-Yorkers considerably outnumbered the new citizens from the Eastern States. The simple, kind-hearted, and unostentatious manners of the Dutch had not, however, disappeared, although great inroads had been made upon them. Still, the good vrows and their daughters were to be seen occasionally, in the gray of the summer evening, sitting upon their stoops, saluting their passing acquaintances, or talking to their neighbors at the adjoining door, or even across the narrow streets, in a social and friendly manner. More frequently yet might the worthy old Knickerbocker be observed on his porch, refreshing himself in the cool of the evening with the soothing influences of his pipe—that friend of indolent meditation and genuine inactive philosophy.

The manners of the Anglo-American population were entirely different. Previous to the Revolution, the royal governors, most frequently noblemen, had kept up the pageantry of a little court in the metropolis, which was often graced by the presence of ladies and gentlemen who had received the advantages of polished and refined society abroad. The lengthened occupation of New York, as the head-quarters of the British army, moreover, had served to continue much intelligent and accomplished

* R. G. Horton's *History of the Tammany Society*.

society in the city during the contest of the Revolution. the advantages of which were by no means lost by the residents; and the effects of these associations had not been rubbed off by contact with democratic rusticity. Many American officers, likewise, with their families, of education and gentle breeding, if not of noble extraction, had returned from the wars and settled down in the city; who, in addition to the advantages of foreign travel and kindred society at home, had more recently been associated with the splendid array of officers from *La Belle France*—among whom were the veteran Count Rochambeau and the gallant Lafayette—sent hither to fight the battles of freedom, and carry back to their own country the sacred fire of liberty kindled at the American altars. These had left the impress of their gay and agreeable manners upon the more English gravity of our own; so that the “good society” of that period, in New York, deserved the appellation. Equally removed from the imputed English taciturnity on the one hand, and the apparent frivolity and loquacity of the French on the other, it was just what it ought to be—easy, graceful, and intelligent, and totally different from the puritanical precision which, at that time, prevailed to a far greater extent in New England than at present. All, therefore, was novelty to the young stranger who chanced to be in the city—as well in the manners of society in its different national classifications as in the extent and construction of the city itself; for nothing, to an unsophisticated eye, could appear more odd and grotesque than the primitive Dutch architecture of New York.

If we suppose a stranger to be on a visit to the city at this period, he probably visited the old red building called a theater, in John Street, to see the Othello of John Henry, and the Desdemona of his wife; the Falstaff of Harper, the Hallams, and Wignell, Jefferson, and others



Thomas Jefferson.

of the *corps dramatique*, who werè then strutting their brief hours upon the stagè. In his afternoon rambles for exercise, he frequently accompanied his friends to the garden of "Katey Mutz," at Wind-mill Hill—more recently the site of the Chatham Street Chapel—for a draught of mead; for the making of which "Aunt Katey," as she was familiarly called, was particularly celebrated. From this favorite place of resort he would, perhaps, stroll through the meadows and orchards along the Bowery road, and thence into the woods towards Corlear's Hook; which, though now a densely peopled portion of the city, was then a long walk into the country. His favorite ramble, however, when alone, was to the hickory grove of Mr. Nicholas Bayard, on the North River side, in that section of the present city lying between Canal and Charlton Streets. There was a spring of pure water here, and the shady trees rendered it a charming place for solitary meditation. Occasionally he drove out to the head of the King's Road, and on the west side to Lake's "Hermitage." near what is now the beginning of the Sixth Avenue. More frequently, however, he dropped in at the "Ranelagh Garden" to take a glass of ale or an ice of Jones, near the Hospital. Again, if provided with letters to the principal residents, he would, on a clear afternoon, walk up the new road (now Broadway) as far as the beautiful country-seat of Andrew Elliott, Esq.,* an English gentleman, who had acted as Lieutenant-Governor under the Crown during a portion of the time that the city was in British occupation. After spending an hour very agreeably with Mr. Elliott, who was on the eve of taking his final departure from this republican clime to one more congenial to his feelings, he set out, towards evening, on his return to the city—taking the grove at Bayard's spring in his way.

* Now the corner of Tenth Street and Broadway—where A. T. Stewart's iron store stands—and well known as the Sailor's Snug Harbor property.

Meeting there some of his acquaintances, they strolled together leisurely across the Lispenard meadows, and just as the sun was sinking into his golden bed, called in at the Mount Vernon Gardens, a fashionable place of retreat at the White Conduit House, then situated at some distance from the city, near what is now the corner of Leonard Street and Broadway. While seated in a rural alcove, partaking of some of the ordinary refreshments of such places, conversations of interest arose, mingled with interesting stories and lively anecdotes, which caused the friends to take no note of time, until they were startled by the bells of St. Paul's pealing out the hour of nine.

The friends separated hastily, and our visitor, threading his way slowly along the narrow and inadequately lighted streets, either returned to his lodgings at the City Hotel, or, if previously introduced, paid a visit to the Belvidere Club, at the house erected by that memorable association of good fellows, on the hill beyond the seat of Colonel Rutgers, which has been dug away within the last forty years and built over upon a dead level. The Belvidere Club was composed chiefly of foreigners, including some of the professional gentlemen and merchants of the city. They played lightly, gave excellent dinners, and did not drink to excess, or rather, to what in those days was counted excess. The house referred to as having been built by the Club, was an elegant establishment, standing upon one of the most charming sites in the suburbs of the city, overlooking the town, with its beautiful harbor, and a handsome section of Long Island. There was also the Hardenbrook Club in existence at the same period; but its associates were hard drinkers, and our visitor had no fellowship for such. Not being inclined to become a member, even if his stay in the city had not been short, he merely visited them a few times as a guest, and as a matter of curiosity.

There were, however, other enjoyments at his command of a higher order, and, being a student, much more to his taste. The bar of New York at this time presented a noble array of knowledge and talent. There were literally "giants" in those days, among whom were the elder Samuel Jones, John Jay, Robert Troup, Richard Harrison, Brockholst Livingston, William Duer, John Cozine, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and Chief-Justice Lansing—at this time in the full meridian of their high professional career. Alexander Hamilton also, though a few years younger than those just mentioned, was fast soaring to the pinnacle of his splendid intellectual course, as also was his able and subtle rival, by whose hand he subsequently fell. It was the delight of the young student to visit the courts and witness the intellectual conflicts of these great men, where the richest treasures of deep and varied learning were disclosed, and the art of eloquence exerted to its highest perfection—where mind grappled with mind, and, disdaining the petty subtleties and technicalities of the profession, the champions stood forth in their own majesty and strength, contending like men, and yielding only after all had been done for their clients that could be achieved by the power and weight of learning and the splendor of eloquence.

These were likewise times of high political excitement. Parties under the lead of Hamilton and Burr respectively, were forming in strong friendship or violent opposition. Frequent public meetings were held, and the ablest statesmen in the city often took part in these primary assemblages. Night after night did the old Union Hotel in William Street resound with the oratory of the distinguished popular leaders of the day, and often was our visitor among the most delighted of the auditors. He was ever gratified with the antagonistic feats of mind, whether at the bar, or upon the tribune of the people—

whether exercised in close, logical, and nervous argument, or in the more showy exhibitions of popular declamation—whether imbued with wisdom, or sparkling with wit,—the brisk assault and the tart reply.

One of these exhibitions of forensic ability was witnessed in a remarkable criminal trial that took place in March of the present year. The last week of the preceding year (1799) had been signalized by the
1800. occurrence of a most mysterious murder, which at the time threw the city into great excitement, and for many days afterwards furnished the principal topic of conversation among its citizens. In itself, the incident might not be deemed of sufficient importance to allude to, were it not for the fact that the trial of the suspected murderer, as before hinted, called forth the splendid abilities of Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr.

The case to which allusion is here made was as follows: An exceedingly comely young woman, Juliana Elmore Sands by name, was taken, one Sunday afternoon, to ride, by Levi Weeks, a young man, and a nephew of Ezra Weeks, who built the City Hotel. The following Thursday the body of the girl was found at the bottom of the "Manhattan Well," just above the present line of Spring Street, between Greene and Wooster Streets, presenting every appearance of having been foully dealt with.* The young man, who had been her companion on the previous Sunday, was at once arrested and placed on trial for willful murder. Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, and Brockholst Livingston were retained for the defense; and during the trial, which lasted two days and

* Called the "Manhattan Well" from the fact that the "Manhattan Company," in searching round the city and suburbs for water, found a spring, which they caused to be dug out several feet and made into a well. In the end, however, they decided that it would not answer their purpose; and it was accordingly left curbed and covered, retaining ever afterwards the name of the "Manhattan Well."

nights, the former two exhibited, in a marked degree, the individual traits for which they were distinguished. In conversation recently with a gentleman, now (1871) ninety-four years old, he described to me the characteristics of each of those great men as they appeared upon the trial, of which he was an eye-witness. Hamilton, it seems, was more of an orator than Burr. His style was flowery, and his oratory graceful, fluent, animated, and impassioned. Burr, on the contrary, was cool and imposing in manner, collected and dispassioned in reasoning, and confined himself, in argument, to a few strong and prominent traits. Nevertheless, the latter did not always depend upon argument, but resorted occasionally to what would now be called "stage effect," to carry his point. At least this seems to be a fair inference from a circumstance that occurred during this trial. It appears that at first all the testimony pointed to the prisoner as the murderer, and the evidence of one witness, in particular, was so strong that it became plain that unless his testimony could be broken down, the case for the defense would be lost. The trial had lasted all the afternoon, and when it grew towards dusk, Burr called his clerk to him, and, in an aside, ordered a lighted candle to be brought in when he should give a signal. Burr meanwhile, continued to cross-question and harass the witness, constantly insinuating that he himself was the perpetrator of the deed, until, having succeeded in confusing him, he made the sign. The lighted candle was thereupon handed him; when, suddenly holding it full in the face of the witness, he exclaimed, in his most telling manner, "Behold the murderer!" This completed the discomfiture of the witness; and, after a charge by Chief-Justice Lansing, a verdict of acquittal was rendered by the jury.

In 1803, De Witt Clinton was appointed Mayor of the

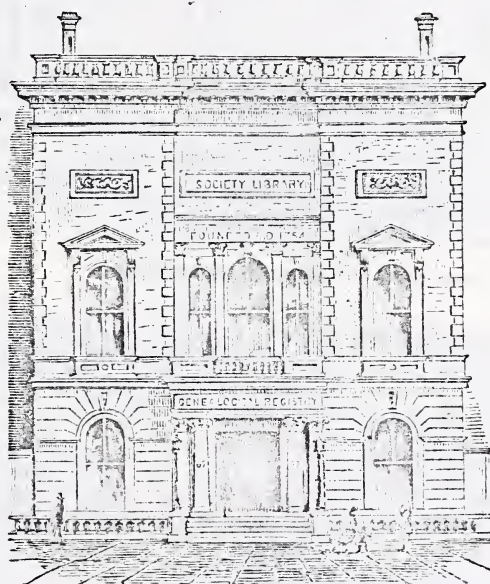
city,* which station he held until the spring of 1807, when he was succeeded, for a short time, by Colonel Marinus Willett, the venerable soldier of the Revolution, and who, nearly half a century before, had gathered imperishable laurels at Fort Stanwix.

One event, however, was to impede, for a short time, the progress which the city was making on the road to prosperity. This was the fire of 1804. About two o'clock on the morning of the 18th of December, of that year, a serious fire commenced in a grocery store on Front Street. The air was cold, and a high wind blowing, and the engines late in their appearance, the devouring element extended with unexampled rapidity, destroying many valuable stores and dwellings, with their contents. The buildings from the west side of Coffee-house Slip, on Water Street, to Gouverneur's Lane, and thence down to the East River, were swept away, and crossing Wall Street, the houses upon the east side of the slip were also burned. Among them was the old Tontine Coffee-house, so celebrated in its day, with several brick stores. Most of the buildings being of wood, their destruction caused new and fire-proof brick edifices to be built in their places. About forty stores and dwellings were consumed—fifteen on Wall Street, seventeen on Front, and eight on Water Street—the value of the property destroyed amounting to two millions of dollars. The fire was supposed to be the work of incendiaries, from anonymous letters sent to a merchant previous to the event. A reward of five hundred dollars was, accordingly, offered by the Mayor for the apprehension of the guilty parties. This same region, thirty-one years afterwards,

* The Mayor was at this time appointed to office by a Council of Appointment, consisting of a Senator chosen by the Legislature from each of the four districts of the State, with the Governor as Chairman of the Council.

was to witness the greatest conflagration which ever took place in this city.

The year 1804 was indeed a memorable date in the annals of the city. In that year the Historical Society was founded, with De Witt Clinton for its first vice-president; the New York Society Library received a fresh impetus by the appointment of Gulian C. Verplanck as

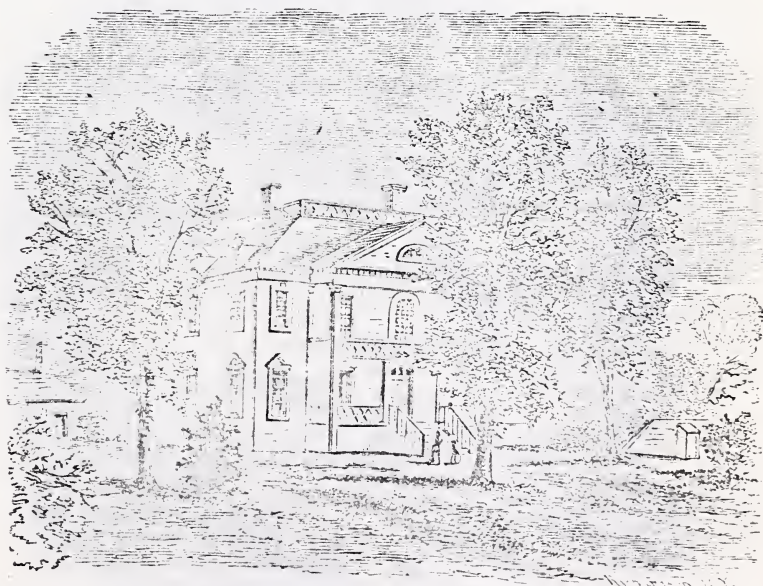


SOCIETY LIBRARY BUILDING.

one of its trustees; the present City Hall began to rise from its foundation; and the Public School Society was virtually determined upon. It was marked also by dark signs; for, besides bringing the dreadful fire, already described, it brought the death of Alexander Hamilton—killed in a duel, by Burr, on the 11th of July—and the loss of his brilliant gifts and guiding intellect. Formerly, a marble monument, erected by the St. Andrew's Society,



THE GRANGE—HAMILTON'S RESIDENCE.



RICHMOND HILL BURR'S RESIDENCE.



TOMB OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.



DUELING GROUND—WEEHAWKEN

on the "Weehawken Dueling Ground," opposite Thirty-first Street, marked the exact spot of the fatal encounter; and even as late as 1869, a cedar-tree, against which Hamilton stood, while the seconds were arranging the preliminaries, was still standing. Now, however (1871), the newly-completed road-bed of the West-side Railroad has destroyed the tree, besides removing every vestige of the narrow ledge on which the principals stood.*

The year 1807 is also one yet more memorable, not only in the city's history, but in that of the United States and the globe. In that year was witnessed the
1807. successful introduction of steam navigation. "Who shall say," writes Dr. Osgood, "what steam navigation has done to emancipate mankind from drudgery, and construct society upon the basis of liberty? It is science turned liberator; and the saucy philosophy of the eighteenth century become the mighty and merciful helper of the nineteenth century. To us, individually and generally, how marvelous has been the gift! Wherever that piston-rod rises and falls, and those paddles turn, man has a giant for his porter and defender. The liberty of the nation has been organized under its protection; and the great States of the Mississippi valley and the Pacific coast are brought within one loyal affinity, and build their new liberties upon the good old pattern of our fathers. Clinton and Fulton—the one identified with the rise of steam navigation, the other with the Erie Canal—are names that belong to universal history, as having given

* The details of this duel have been so often given that we may properly omit them here. But one recent landmark of the city, connected with that event—viz., RICHMOND HILL, where Burr was residing at the time, and at the foot of which the boat was moored that conveyed him across the river to meet Hamilton on that fatal morning—has entwined around it so many interesting memories that our readers will thank us for giving a sketch of it from the scholarly pen of General Prosper M. Wetmore, who wrote it originally for *The Historical Magazine*. This sketch will be found in Appendix No. II.

America its business unity, and brought its united wealth to bear upon the industry and commerce of the world."

But, notwithstanding the place which Dr. Osgood assigns to Fulton, justice requires it to be stated that to JOHN FITCH, and not to Robert Fulton, belongs the honor of inventing the steam-boat.

Probably no person has received so much praise, and deserved it so little, as Robert Fulton. A man of no practical ingenuity—of no power of conceiving, much less of executing, an original mechanical idea—his friend Colden has succeeded in persuading the public that to him alone is due the successful navigation of our rivers by steam. The facts, however, as I gathered them from the late Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, who in turn received them from Chancellor Livingston himself, are as follows: Thirteen years before Fitch experimented with his steam-boat upon the Collect in New York, he had, as is well known, run a little steamer on the Delaware, between Philadelphia and Bordentown, with great success. During that period he had experimented with various kinds of propelling power—the screw, the side-wheel, and sweeps or long oars. The most primitive thing about his vessel was the boiler, which consisted simply of two potash kettles, riveted together. Mr. Livingston, who was greatly interested in the success of Fitch's experiments,* seized the opportunity, when Minister to France, to visit the workshops of Watt and Bolton, in England, where, for the first time, he saw a properly constructed steam-boiler. But how was he to introduce it into the United States, unless (which was then impossible) he went there himself? At this crisis he thought of Robert Fulton, who, originally an artist in Philadelphia, was then exhibiting a panorama in

* The Chancellor had previously expended large sums in boats and machinery for navigating the Hudson by steam, and obtained an act giving him the exclusive right to do so in 1798. This was three years before he saw Fulton.

Paris. His panorama, however, failing to pay, was attached, and he himself arrested for debt and thrown into prison. Livingston also, at this time, had in his possession the *plans, models, and drawings* of what was afterwards the *successful* steam-boat, which he had obtained from the American Consul, then residing at Havre, who, in turn, had purchased them of Fitch, when the latter, completely discouraged, and a stranger in France, utterly destitute, had given up in despair. Livingston, falling into the error so common to many, of believing that, because an artist can draw cleverly, he must necessarily succeed equally well in mechanical conception and execution, paid off Fulton's debts, and sent him over to New York with one of James Watt's boilers. Fulton, however, thoroughly incompetent and untrustworthy, failed to rise to the occasion; and when Livingston returned, a year after, he found his pet project precisely where he had left it several years before. He, therefore, at once took hold of it himself, and by his energy and perseverance, finally brought his idea to a successful issue—Fulton, whom he could not entirely shake off, acting as a kind of general superintendent. These facts, moreover, are confirmed not only by the late President William A. Duer, in his *New Yorker* (Letter 7th), but by Mr. Ransom Cook, now (1871) living at Saratoga Springs, N. Y. Mr. Cook informs me that, in the summer of 1837, he was in the city of New York, engaged upon his electro-magnetic machinery. Among his workmen were two who had been employed by Livingston and Fulton, while those gentlemen were perfecting their steam-boat. They surprised him greatly by stating that Fulton was a capital draughtsman, and that was all. They added, that he was so deficient in a knowledge of the laws of mechanics as to furnish daily mirth for the workmen, and that it was a long time before Livingston could convince him that the

"starting-bar" of an engine should be made larger at the fulcrum end than at the handle!*

On the 7th of August, 1807, the first steam-boat, the *Clermont*, constructed and finished under the nominal superintendence of Robert Fulton, encouraged by Chancellor Livingston, stood in the stream opposite Jersey City, ready at a signal to start on her way to Albany. Thousands of citizens lined both banks of the river, and filled every kind of available water-craft with the expectation of witnessing the utter failure of "Fulton's Folly"—as they had tauntingly christened the new boat—and of having the satisfaction of saying, "I told you so." But



THE CLERMONT.

that sentence was never to be uttered; for, at the word from the alleged inventor, the wheels began to revolve, slowly at first, then faster and faster, until "Fulton's Folly" vanished up the river, leaving the scoffers staring after it

* In the above statement regarding the claims of Fitch and Fulton to be considered the inventors of the steam-boat, I have written what I believe to be the true facts of the case. It is far from my wish, however, to do injustice to any one, and I therefore here give a portion of a letter written to me by Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, Md. Mr. Latrobe recently read a paper before the Maryland Historical Society, designed to show that Mr. Nicholas J. Roosevelt, of New York city, was the real inventor of the present side-wheels to the steam-boat. This paper has been published, and is accessible to those wishing to pursue the question further. Mr. Latrobe writes: "It was Fulton who made the plans and superintended the work of the *Clermont*. The Chancellor was wholly incompetent. He was an inventor in a small way,—a man, rather, of ideas to be carried out by others. His inventions, or his idea, wanted the merit of practicability. I have letters on letters of his—*original letters*—which prove this beyond question. An able lawyer; a statesman, too, he was but a smatterer in the sciences that involve accuracy in the mechanic arts. This is the impression his correspondence gives me. So it would you. Fulton, a miniature painter, a panorama-man, a torpedo-man, a man of shifts through necessity, was a man of resources. There are papers in my collection that abundantly prove this. * * * With regard now to Fitch. I mention him in my monograph. There is a drawing somewhere of his boat, but he was not the first who had the idea of steam. Many had it. He practically antedated the Chancellor, and Roosevelt, and Fulton with his *vertical paddles* or *oars*; but you are the first that I have ever heard say that he had anything to do with *vertical wheels on the sides*, which was the success. Had it been as you state, it would have come out in the proceedings before the Legislature of New Jersey, at Trenton, on the very river where his experiments took place. The merit of Roosevelt was that he not only suggested, but described the mechanical details of construction of these *wheels*—and this to the Chancellor, too! It was not to Fitch, but to two New-Yorkers, of the old Knickerbocker stock, too, that the side-wheel boat owes its origin—Roosevelt, who suggested and described it, while working at the Chancellor's impracticability. * * *

with blank visages and open mouths. The triumph was complete—yet to Fitch, not Fulton, belongs the honor.

In the summer of 1867, I chanced to be a passenger on one of the swift and fairy-like steamers that ply in the day-time between New York and Albany.* While passing



VIEW AT CATSKILL LANDING.

Catskill, the birth-place of Thurlow Weed, the latter, who was also a passenger, was reminded of an incident of his

* In the course of the trip mentioned in the text, the distance between West Point and Newburg—ten miles—was made in twenty minutes and a half, nearly thirty miles an hour. The speed of the boat (the *Chauncey Vibbard*) on this occasion was timed by Mr. Weed, Mr. Erastus Brooks, of the *Express*, and Mr. Wilkes, of the *Spirit of the Times*. This time becomes the more remarkable when it is stated that, at the time, the steam-boat had five hundred and fifty passengers on board. The speed of Fulton's boat was about six miles an hour! The *Chauncey Vibbard* and *Thos. Powell* are at present considered the fastest boats in the United States, if not on the globe. In this connection, also, it will be interesting to give the following account of the dimensions and speed of the *Clermont*. The *Clermont* was 100 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 7 deep. The following advertisement appeared in the *Albany Gazette* on the 1st of September, 1807:—

“The *North River Steam-boat* will leave Paulus Hook [Jersey City] on Friday, the 4th of September, at 9 in the morning, and arrive at Albany at 9 in

boyhood, connected with the first trip of the *Clermont*, which he related to the little circle gathered around him: "Sixty years ago, this very day," said Mr. Weed, "the first steam-boat passed up the Hudson from New York to Albany. The news spread like wild-fire, although there was then no telegraph, and the banks of the entire river were almost literally lined with people, to whom the first steam-boat was a much greater wonder than the *Great Eastern* to the present generation." To be on the bank, however, was not enough for Mr. Weed; so, stripping off his clothes and placing them on a rude raft improvised for the occasion, he swam out into the stream, pushing the raft before him; and from an island (now forming the main-land) he watched in actual fear and trembling, the singular, and to him weird, spectacle—

"A peaceful bark o'er the waters sped,
As the monster form drew near;
From his perilous post the helmsman fled,
And the hailing captain bade with dread
From her demon-wake to steer.

* * * * *

"From the fishermen's cabins the inmates burst,
And were moved in their panic to say,
That the ghosts of the Dutchmen had risen from dust
To smoke their great pipes with a terrible gust,
And hasten from Gotham away." *

the afternoon. Provisions, good berths, and accommodation are provided. The charge to each passenger is as follows:

	Dollars.	Hours.
To Newburg.....	3 00	14
" Poughkeepsie	4 00	17
" Esopus.....	5 00	20
" Hudson	5 50	30
" Albany.....	7 00	36

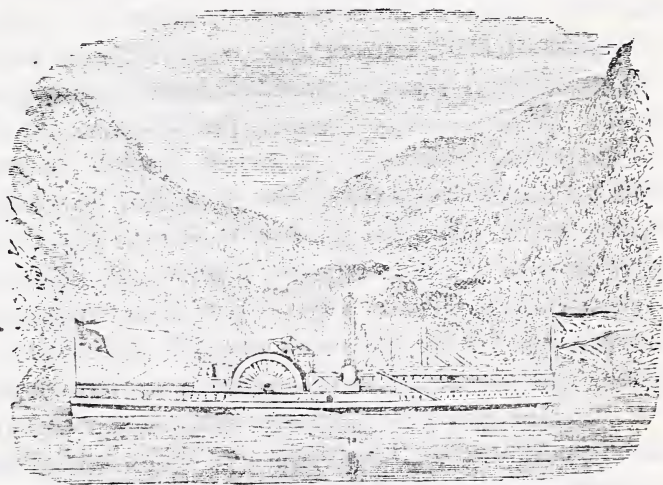
"Mr. Fulton's new steam-boat," said the same paper, on the 5th of October, "left New York on the 2d, at 10 o'clock, A. M., against a strong tide, very rough water, and a violent gale from the north. She made a headway, against the most sanguine expectations, and without being rocked by the waves."

Mr. Charles Dyke, who died in 1871, at the age of eighty-five years, in this State, was the engineer of Fulton's little trial steamer, the *Clermont*, at the time she made her first trip from New York to Albany, on the 7th of August, 1807.

* *The First Steam-boat* by Mrs. Sigourney.

It was not, however, until 1811 that "Crossing the Ferry" at New York became an accomplished fact. Indeed, the difficulties experienced in crossing the

1811. North and East Rivers before horse or steam ferries were known, will never be realized by the present generation. They may be judged of somewhat by the following extract from a letter to the writer, written by a gentleman who now (1871) is still living, at the age of eighty-eight, hale and hearty. "When a boy of fifteen," he writes, "I first visited New York city, in 1801. Then



we crossed from Brooklyn in small sail-boats—two cents ferriage. With ice in the river, it was sometimes extremely perilous. To get a gig across, of course, the wheels must be taken off, and the horse jumped. On that first visit I saw the fine farms below the present City Hall—and one farmer was just driving out the gate with a fine calf to carry down town to the butcher. My father took me to the old Fly Market, whither he carried his produce."*

* Letter from Isaac Rushmore, of Westbury, L. I., to the writer, dated November 7th, 1871.

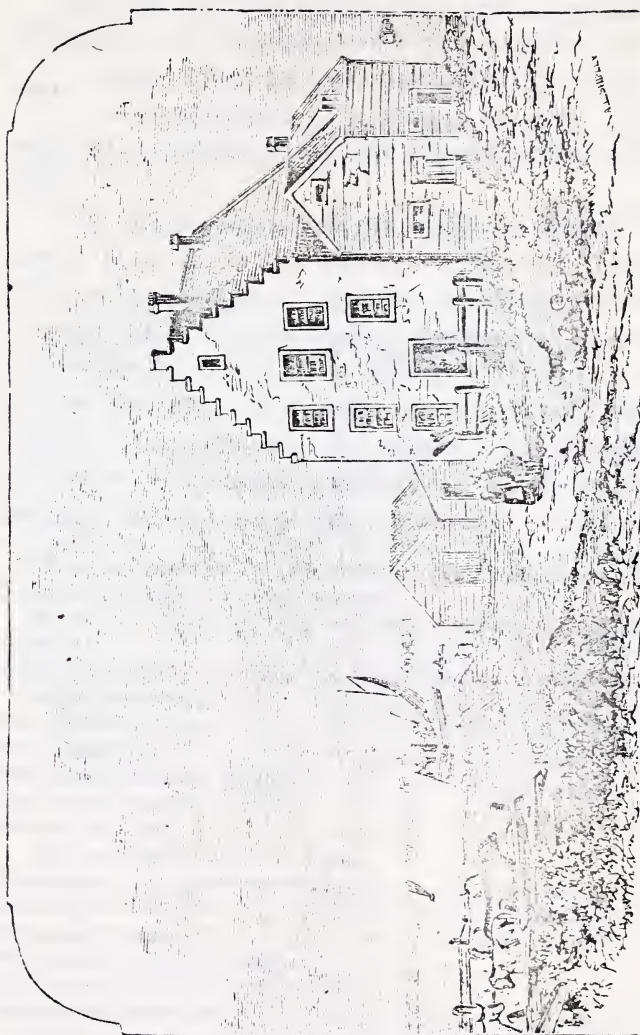
The first announcement of a steam ferry-boat appears in the *Columbian* newspaper of the 18th of September, 1811, as follows: "*Hoboken Steamboat*.—Mr. Godwin respectfully acquaints the citizens of New York and the public at large, that he has commenced running a steam-boat on the Hoboken Ferry, of large and convenient size, and capable of affording accommodation in a very extensive degree. The boat moves with uncommon speed and facility, and starts from the usual ferry stairs, at the Corporation wharf, foot of Vesey Street, New York, where passage may be taken at any hour of the day." On the 24th of the same month, the following editorial appears in the same paper: "Steam-boats are rapidly getting into the 'full tide of successful experiment' in this country. Last week one of Colonel Stevens' ferry-boats, employed by Mr. Godwin, of Hoboken, was started into operation, and yesterday made sixteen trips back and forth, between that place and this city, with a probable average of one hundred passengers each trip.* Her machinery, we understand, is somewhat different from that of the large North River boats, and we presume she sails considerably faster than any other heretofore constructed in our waters."

Even in those days it seems that there was sharp competition. Especially was this the case between Fulton, who represented the Paulus Hook Ferry Company, and Colonel John Stevens that of the Hoboken Ferry. The latter, it would appear, started the first passenger steam ferry-boat, but the former produced, although at a later period, a boat (or rather a double boat) which proved successful for the general wants and uses of such a craft. In July of the year following, 1812, the *Columbian* says, editorially: "The large and commodious *Steam-boat* which

* Compare this statement with the fact that now *two hundred thousand* persons daily cross the East River, and as many more on the other side to New Jersey and Staten Island.

has been for some time erecting in this city by Mr. Fulton, as a ferry-boat to ply between this city and the city of Jersey, will be in full operation on Thursday next. The crossing of the North River has been such an obstacle to the communication with this city, that it is a matter of real congratulation to the public that their difficulties are removed. The most timid may cross now without fear. As the fare of a market-wagon, loaded, will be but fifty cents, there is no doubt but our markets will be better supplied than ever they have been." "The boat impelled by horses, from the New (Catharine) Slip to the upper Brooklyn Ferry, carried at one time 543 passengers, besides some carriages and horses. And a horse-boat is to run soon from Grand Street Dock to Williamsburgh." The same authority, a short time afterwards, announces the successful launching of this boat, called the *Williamsburgh*, from the ship-yard of Mr. Browne. It was not, however, until May, 1814, that steam ferry-boats superseded those propelled by horse-power on the Brooklyn ferry.* In speaking of this great improvement, the paper we have before quoted (the *Columbian*), under date of May 14th, says: "*Brooklyn Ferry-Boat.*—The *Nassau*, the new steam-boat belonging to Messrs. Cutting & Co., which commenced running from Beekman Slip to the lower ferry at Brooklyn a few days ago, carried, in one of her first trips, 549 (another counted 550) passengers, one wagon and a pair of horses, two horses and chairs, and one single horse. She has made a trip in *four minutes*, and generally takes from four to eight, and has crossed the river forty times in one day." "Yesterday (Sunday, May 10th), between twelve and one o'clock, Mr. Lewis Rhoda accidentally got hurled into the machinery of the new steam-boat *Nassau*,

* The picture of the Brooklyn Ferry-house, on the opposite page, is copied from a colored engraving published in London, by Thomas Bakewell, in 1746, entitled, "A South Prospect of ye Flourishing City of New York, in ye Province of New York, in America."



FULTON FERRY IN 1740

which cut off his left arm a little below the elbow, and broke his neck. He expired in about three hours.”*

In 1808, De Witt Clinton was again appointed Mayor of the city, which office—with the exception of only one year, when he was superseded by Judge Radeliffe
1808. in consequence of a change in party politics—he retained by successive annual appointments, until the year 1815.

“In the discharge of his duties as Mayor,” says Dr. David Hosack, in his address before the Literary and Philosophical Society, “whether presiding at the Common Council Board, superintending the general interests of the city as the President of the Board of Health, or officiating in the character of a judge on the bench, Mr. Clinton acquired the confidence, the respect, and the gratitude of all classes of citizens, uninfluenced by the various party feelings that distracted the community. As the presiding

* This may probably be considered the *first* “steam-boat accident”—now become so frightfully common—on record.

The first ferry ordinance on record (1654) lays down the following rates of ferriage:

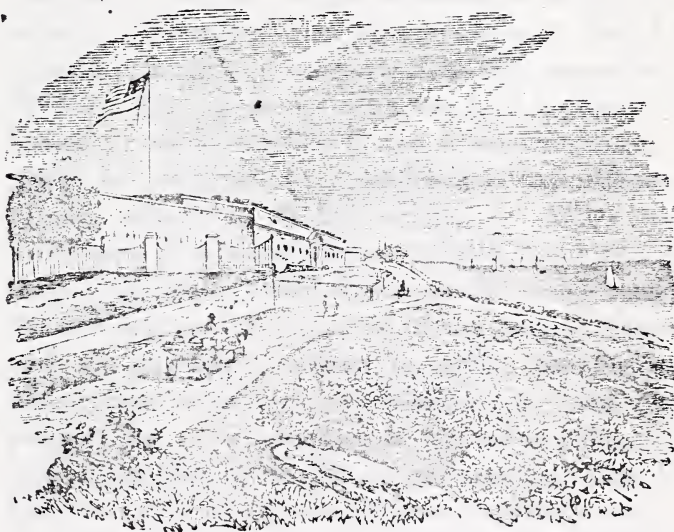
The ferryman is to be allowed for a wagon, cart (either with horses or oxen), or a head of cattle	2	10
For a one-horse wagon	2	
For a plough	1	
For a hog, sheep, buck, or goat		3
For a savage, male or female		6
For each other person		3
Half for children under ten years.		
For a horse, or four-footed horned beast	1	10
For a hogshead of tobacco		16
For a tun of beer		16
For an anchor of wine or spirits		6
For a keg of butter, or anything else		6
For four schepels of corn		1

The ferryman cannot be compelled to ferry any one over before he is paid. The hours shall be from 7 o'clock, A. M., to 5 P. M., in winter; but he is not to be obliged to ferry during a tempest, or when he cannot sail.

The directors and members of the Council, or court messenger, and other persons invested with authority, or dispatched by the Executive, are to be exempt from toll.

officer of the Common Council, the dignity, the ability, and the dispatch with which he performed the duties of that important office, were always the theme of eulogy; and to the municipal concerns of the city he paid a devoted and unremitted attention."

In this year, also, he was instrumental in obtaining from the State Legislature an appropriation of \$100,000 for the fortification of the city. He was likewise the President of the Board of Commissioners appointed to



FORT HAMILTON.

superintend the accomplishment of those important military works on Staten Island and in other portions of the bay for the defense of the city.

It was while Clinton was Mayor that the affair took place which is generally known as the "Trinity Church Riot."*

* The following account of this riot is taken from Chief-Justice Daly's scholarly discourse, delivered before the Century Club, on the death of Gulian C. Verplanck.

"In 1811, one of the graduating class of Columbia College, afterwards well known as Dr. J. B. Stevenson, who had been appointed one of the disputants in a political debate which was to take place at the college commencement, submitted, as required, what he was to say, to the inspection of one of the faculty, Dr. Wilson. It contained this passage: 'Representatives ought to act according to the sentiments of their constituents,' which Dr. Wilson required him to modify by limiting it to one instance only. The young man remonstrated, but the doctor was inexorable; because, as he afterwards testified, he considered it expedient that the young man should deliver correct principles, as he was to be the respondent in the debate. The commencement was held in Trinity Church before a crowded audience, and, when Stevenson came to reply, he omitted the qualification, and delivered the passage exactly as he had written it. When his name was called for the delivery of a diploma, he ascended the stage, and, as the president was in the act of handing him the one prepared for him, one of the professors interposed, and the president refused to confer the degree. The young man withdrew, overwhelmed by this public exposure; but, upon returning to the body of the church, he was surrounded by his fellow-graduates and friends, for he had been an industrious and most exemplary student, and, at their instigation, here turned to the platform and demanded his diploma. One of the professors, anxious to accommodate matters, said to him, 'Probably you forgot;' but the young man promptly answered, 'I did not, but I would not utter what I did not believe.' The diploma was again refused, upon which he had the courage to turn to the audience and say: 'I am refused my degree, ladies and gentlemen, not from any literary deficiency, but because I refused to speak the sentiments of others as my own.' This at once produced a sensation, upon which

Hugh Maxwell, an alumnus of the college, and afterwards a distinguished advocate, went upon the stage and addressed the audience in support of Stevenson, condemning the faculty in what they considered very bold and offensive language. At this juncture Mr. Verplanck also went on the platform and demanded of Dr. Mason, the provost, who was the ruling power in the college, why the degree was not conferred. Dr. Mason informed him, and Verplanck answered: 'The reason, sir, is not satisfactory; Mr. Maxwell must be sustained.' The audience now became greatly excited in favor of Stevenson, and Verplanck, turning towards them, moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Maxwell 'for his zealous and honorable defense of an injured man,' a proposition which the graduating class received with three cheers, followed by three groans for the provost. Verplanck's manner in this scene, as subsequently described by Dr. Mason, 'was loud and rude, with an air of consequence and disdain, calculated to aid and increase the disturbance,' and, according to the doctor's account, he 'appeared as if erecting himself into a tribunal to judge above the heads of the faculty,' a statement in which others who were present did not concur. Old as well as young men now took as active a part as Verplanck or Maxwell; and when Dr. Mason, in his official character as provost, came forward to restore order, he was, to employ his own words, when examined as a witness, received with a 'hiss that, in manner and quality, would not disgrace a congregation of snakes upon Snake Hill in New Jersey.' He was compelled to retire, the police were brought in, and the commencement came to an end in confusion and disorder.

"From the college and the church the affair passed into the newspapers. The faculty published in the daily journals a lengthy vindication of their course, and were answered by a rejoinder from the graduating class, and by

replies from others who were present. A complaint was made to the grand jury, and seven of the principal actors, —Stevenson, Verplanck, and Maxwell being included,— were indicted; and, at the August term of the Court of Sessions, or, as it was then popularly called, the Mayor's Court, they were arraigned and put upon their trial for the criminal offense of creating or assisting in a riot. De Witt Clinton, being then Mayor of the city, presided; and from the unusual circumstance of such an occurrence in a church upon such an occasion, and the fact that all who were indicted were members of leading families of the city, the trial excited the deepest interest. Verplanck and Maxwell defended themselves, and three of the most eminent counsel of that day, David B. Ogden, Josiah O. Hoffman, and Peter A. Jay, appeared for the other defendants. The principal members of the faculty were examined as witnesses, conspicuous among whom was Dr. Mason, the provost of the college, in the earnestness and zeal which he displayed to secure a conviction. He was at the time the most eloquent preacher in the city, or, indeed, in the country, and in giving his testimony brought all the weight of his popularity and his intellectual gifts to bear with great effect against the accused.

“Verplanck addressed the jury upon his own behalf. He declared, which was no doubt the truth, that he was moved to do what he did solely from his sense of the injustice of the college authorities, in publicly refusing to confer the degree because the young man would not utter their political sentiments. ‘There was,’ he said, ‘gentlemen of the jury, a lofty spirit of gallantry about the conduct of Mr. Maxwell, with which, at the time, I could not but sympathize, and which now I cannot but admire. He was bold in the cause of friendship and of character. I approved of his behavior, and I am proud that I did so;’ and then gratified his own feelings, at least, by telling the jury

that Dr. Mason was 'a man towering in the proud consciousness of intellectual strength, little accustomed to yield, or even to listen to the opinions of others, that he appeared as a witness pouring forth upon him and Maxwell all the bitterness of his rancor and the overboiling of his contempt; throwing off the priest and the gentleman and assuming the buffoon; showering upon them his delicate irony, his choice simile of the congregation of snakes, and all the other savory flowers of rhetoric, in which he was so fertile, and had poured forth in such abundance,' and, appealing to the jury, asked, 'What credit will you give to a witness, inflamed by passion, smarting with wounded pride, and mortified self-confidence?'

"It was very doubtful whether the offense, which the law denominates a riot, had been proved, or in fact committed—whether there was any thing more than a strong expression of disapprobation on the part of the audience, an occurrence more or less incident to the nature of public assemblages, which became a scene of disorder from the faculty persisting in refusing to give the young man his diploma. No actual violence on the part of any of the defendants was proved, nor was what occurred of a nature to create public terror, a necessary ingredient in the crime of riot. There was probably nothing more than a breach of the peace.

"It was pertinently suggested by Mr. Jay, that, if the college permitted the students to discuss a political question, as a part of the public exercises at a commencement, they should have been allowed the free exercise of their own views in the discussion of it, and that the supervision of their remarks should have been confined to the correction merely of literary defects; that otherwise there was no freedom in the debate, but the students were simply mouth-pieces to utter the political views and sentiments of the professors; that there was nothing in the statutes

of the college which imposed the penalty of a refusal of a degree if a student would not incorporate in his speech what a professor directed him to put in; that a resolution had been inserted in the minutes of 1796, subjecting the compositions of the students to the inspection of the faculty, and, if any such penalty as the deprivation of a degree were attached, the students were left in ignorance of it, as there was nothing of the kind in the college statutes; and he argued that it was not the young men upon trial, but the faculty, who were responsible for the disturbance; that they had, perhaps, without sufficient reflection, fallen into an error, which their pride prevented them afterwards from admitting. They had committed a palpable act of injustice, and it was their unwillingness to recede from it, and their determination to persist in it, that had exasperated the audience. They, consequently, were the real authors of the riot, if there was one; but he insisted, as did the other counsel for the defense, that, in the sense of the law, there had been no riot.

"Clinton, however, had no misgivings in respect to the law. He charged the jury that the offense had been committed, that all the defendants were guilty of it, and got rid of the definition of a riot by Hawkins, a learned elementary authority upon the criminal law, by declaring it to be 'undoubtedly bad.' He commented upon the conduct of the defendants with great severity, and was especially severe upon Verplanck. It was difficult, he said, to speak of his conduct in terms sufficiently strong; that he was one of the principal ringleaders 'in the scene of disorder and disgrace,' and that in his reply to the provost, and in his moving a vote of thanks to Maxwell, he evinced 'a matchless insolence.' He told the jury that they were bound 'by every consideration arising out of the public peace and the public morals, and by their regard for an institution venerable for its antiquity, to bring in all the



James Monroe

defendants guilty ;' that he had no hesitation in declaring that the disturbance was ' the most disgraceful, the most unprecedented, the most unjustifiable, and the most outrageous, that had ever come to the knowledge of the court.'

" Under this charge the jury found the defendants guilty. Verplanck and Maxwell were fined two hundred dollars each, which was imposed, says Renwick, Clinton's biographer, in an address conveying a severe, merited, and pointed reprimand. They were required, in addition, to procure sureties for their future good behavior; and the same authority states that Clinton hesitated for some time whether he was not called upon, by a regard for justice, to inflict also the disgrace of imprisonment."*

But before New York city was to attain to her present high position, she was destined to pass through another

* " But the result of the prosecution did not produce the effect which its promoters anticipated. Public feeling, especially in the Democratic party, was with the defendants, and the course of Clinton, upon the trial, greatly augmented the hostility of the Madisonian Democrats to him. We were then on the eve of a war with England. The measures of Madison had not been sufficiently energetic to satisfy the more ardent of the Democrats; and Clinton, relying upon a diversion of the dissatisfied portion of that party in his favor, had taken the field as a candidate for the Presidency against Madison, and at this very time was intriguing to secure the support of the Federalists. By the Democrats his course upon the trial was attributed to a desire to ingratiate himself with the Federal party, and matters subsequently brought to light disclose that this belief was not wholly without foundation. Dr. Mason, a Federalist of the strictest sect, either shortly before or about the time of the trial, had acted as the private friend of Clinton in bringing about an interview between him and John Jay, Rufus King, and Gouverneur Morris, three of the principal Federal leaders, which failed of its object through John Jay's disgust at hearing Clinton say that he had never sympathized with the Democrats, but had always been in favor of the policy of Washington and Adams' administrations—an extraordinary statement from the man whose denunciation of the Federal leaders as ' men who had rather reign in hell than serve in heaven,' had rung through every part of the Union. It was, therefore, not without some ground that he was exposed to the suspicion of having been actuated upon this trial by a desire to do something that would gratify the Federalists, and especially his negotiator with them, a man of imperious temper and despotic will, who had set his heart upon the success of this prosecution."—*Chief-Justice Daly's Discourse.*

period of darkness and depression—the War of 1812—a period, moreover, which was to be rendered additionally trying by the crippling of its resources by the terrible conflagration of 1811. The late Hon. G. P. Disosway, who, with a few yet living, passed through this fiery ordeal, gives his personal reminiscences of this fire as follows :

“An extensive fire broke out in Chatham Street, near Duane, on Sunday morning, May 19th, 1811, raging furiously several hours. A brisk north-east wind was blowing at the moment, and the flames, spreading with great rapidity, for some time baffled all the exertions of the firemen and citizens. Between eighty and one hundred buildings, on both sides of Chatham Street, were consumed in a few hours.

“We well remember this conflagration. The writer was then a Sabbath-school boy, and a teacher in a public school-room near by, at the corner of Tryon Row. The school was dismissed, and, as usual, proceeded to old John Street Church, thick showers of light, burning shingles and cinders falling all over the streets. That was the day of shingle roofs. When the teachers and scholars, their number very large, reached the church, the venerable Bishop McKendall occupied the pulpit, and seeing the immense clouds of dark smoke and living embers enveloping that section of the city, he advised the men ‘to go to the fire and help in its extinguishment, and he would preach to the women and children.’ This advice was followed.

“By this time the scene had become very exciting, impressive, and even fearful. We have not forgotten it, and never will. The wind had increased to a gale, and far and wide and high flew the blazing flakes in whirling eddies, throwing burning destruction wherever they lit or fell.

“The lofty spires near by of the ‘Brick Meeting,’ ‘St. Paul’s,’ and ‘St. George’s Chapel,’ enveloped in the rapidly passing embers, soon became the especial objects of watchfulness and anxiety. Thousands of uplifted eyes, and, we doubt not, prayers, were directed towards these holy tabernacles, now threatened with speedy destruction. And there was cause for fear. Near the ball at the top of the ‘Brick Church,’ a blazing spot was seen outside, and apparently not larger than a man’s head. Instantly a thrill of fear evidently ran through the bosoms of the thousands crowding the Park and the wide area of Chatham Street. They feared the safety of an old and loved temple of the Lord, and they feared, also, if the spire was once in flames, with the increasing gale, what would be the terrible consequence on the lower part of the city.

“‘What can we do?’ was the universal question—‘What in the world can be done?’ was in everybody’s mouth. The kindling spot could not be reached from the inside of the tall steeple, nor by ladders outside; neither could any fire-engine, however powerful, force the water to that lofty height. With the deepest anxiety, fear, and trembling, all faces were turned in that direction. At this moment of alarm and dread, a sailor appeared on the roof of the church, and very soon was seen climbing up the steeple, hand over hand, by the lightning-rod!—yes, by the rusty, slender iron! Of course, the excitement now became most intense; and the perilous undertaking of the daring man was

watched every moment, as he slowly, step by step, grasp after grasp, literally crawled upward, by means of his slim conductor. Many fears were expressed among the immense crowd, watching every inch of his ascent, for there was no resting-place for hands and feet, and he must hold on, or fall and perish; and should he succeed in reaching the burning spot, how could he possibly extinguish it, as water, neither by hose nor bucket, could be sent to his assistance? 'But where there is a will; there is a way,' says an old maxim, and it was at this crisis he reached the kindling spot, and, firmly grasping the lightning-rod in one hand, with the other he removed his tarpaulin hat from his head, and with it literally, blow after blow, thick, strong, and unceasing, extinguished or beat out the fire! Shouts of joy and thanks greeted the noble fellow as he slowly and safely descended to the earth again.* The 'Old Brick' was thus preserved from the great conflagration of that Sunday morning. Our hero quickly disappeared in the crowd, and, it was said, immediately sailed abroad, with the favorable wind then blowing. A reward was offered for the person who performed this daring, generous act; but it is said that some impostor passed himself off for the real hero, and obtained the promised amount.

"The cupola of the 'Old Jail,' which stood on the spot now occupied by the 'Hall of Records,' also took fire. This was extinguished through the exertions of a prisoner 'on the limits.' This was the famous, generous institution where unfortunate debtors formerly were confined and barred in with grated doors and iron bolts, deprived of liberty, and without tools, books, paper, or pen, expected to pay their debts. It was a kind of 'Calcutta Black-Hole,' and the inmates having no yard-room, the prisoners frequented the top of the building for open-air exercise. Here they might be seen every hour of the day. Generally discovering fires in the city, they gave the first alarm, by ringing the 'Jail-Bell.' This became a sure signal of a conflagration, and on this occasion they saved the legal pest-house from quick destruction. The Corporation rewarded the debtor who fortunately extinguished the threatened cupola.

"If the building had been destroyed and its inmates only saved, there would not have been much public regret, for it had been a sort of 'Calcutta Black-Hole' to American prisoners of war during the Revolution. After General Washington's success, during 1777, in New Jersey, a portion of these poor prisoners were exchanged; but many of them, exhausted by their confinement, before reaching the vessels for their embarkation home, fell dead in the streets. These are some of the historical reminiscences of the 'Old Debtors' Prison,' which so narrowly escaped burning in the great fire of May, 1811."

Scarcely had the citizens of New York recovered from the disheartening effects of this fire, when, on the 20th of June, 1812, the news was received in the city of President Madison's declaration of war against Great Britain, issued a few days previous. A meeting was immediately called at noon of the same day, in the

1812.

* This sailor was the father of the late Rev. Dr. Hague, Pastor of the Baptist Church, corner of Thirty-first Street and Madison Avenue.—*Letter from Thomas Hays to the Author.*

park, at which the citizens solemnly pledged themselves to give the Government their undivided support. Clinton, also,—although, as chief magistrate of the city, he could with perfect propriety have pleaded his official duties as an excuse for not taking an active part,—hastened to offer to the commander-in-chief his personal services for active operations in the field. These were preferred in a letter addressed to Governor Tompkins, by their mutual friend, Thomas Addis Emmet. But the patriotism of Mr. Clinton did not stop here. The declaration of war had found us as a nation wholly unprepared for war. The treasury was empty, and its credit, at that time, impaired. It was, accordingly, soon perceived that, if the city of New York was to be defended, the funds for that purpose must be provided by her own citizens. At this crisis, Mr. Clinton suggested to the Common Council that they should borrow the necessary funds on the credit of the city, and loan the amount thus raised to the United States. The plan was approved. An impressive address, drafted by Mr. Clinton, was made to our citizens, and a million of dollars—at that time a large sum to be secured in this manner—was raised by subscription for the defense of the city.

Nor was it only in repelling outside foes that the virtues of Clinton's character were exhibited. His
1813. patriotism, his unshaken firmness in supporting the laws and in preserving the peace of the community, were at this time most conspicuous.

A state of war in every country produces a body of men who, under various specious pretexes, excite to acts of riot and disorder, which they turn to the gratification of their private and personal resentments, or their own malignant passions.* Disgraceful scenes of lawless violence and of bloodshed had recently occurred in a

* *Vide*, for example, the "Draft Riot" in New York in 1863.

sister city, and gave fearful omen of what might likewise be expected in New York, unless restrained by the strong arm of the law. Mr. Clinton foresaw the crisis, and his correct and intrepid spirit prepared for the emergency. In an address to the Grand Jury, he alluded to the riotous scenes in Baltimore, and, with a view to prevent a repetition of similar occurrences in New York, he digested and prepared a system of police regulations for the preservation of the peace of the city, which was adopted by the Common Council. The result was that the city remained tranquil and undisturbed by tumult of any sort. "The character of Mr. Clinton," says Dr. Hosack, in alluding to this circumstance, "was an assurance to the community that these regulations would not remain a dead letter, but be faithfully and promptly executed. His well known firmness gave tranquillity to our city; the vicious were awed; the virtuous, under his auspices, felt additional confidence."

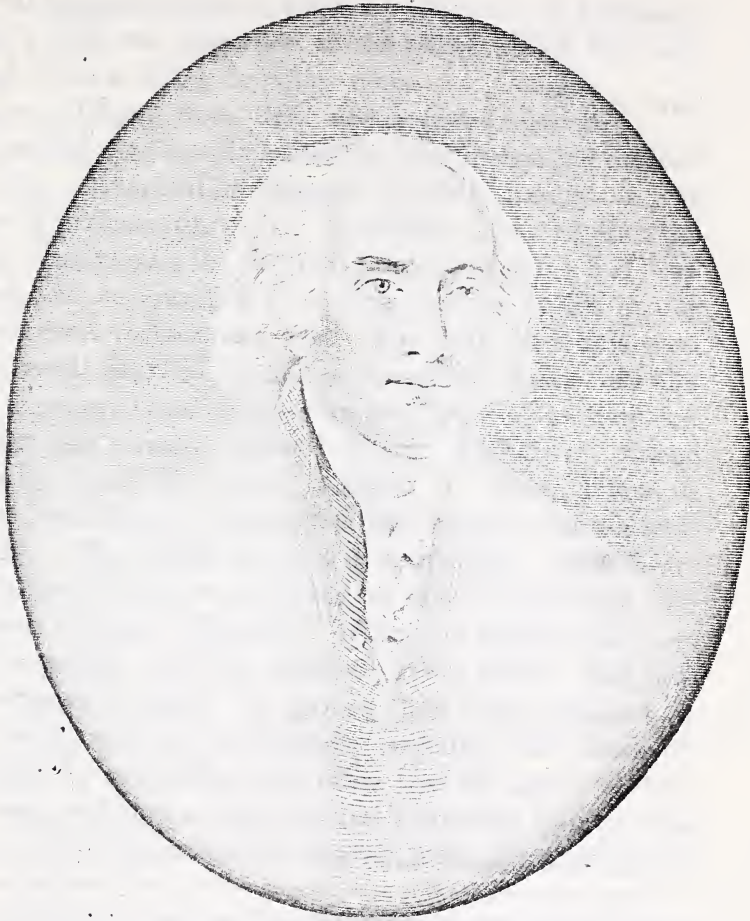
But, as a city, New York did well. Her conduct, in view of the severe blow which it was perceived would at once be given by the war to the prosperity of New York, was no slight proof of patriotism; and many who at the beginning of the war were rich, found themselves, when the treaty of peace was signed on the 24th of December, 1814, ruined. The condition in which New York was at the close of the war, as well as the extravagant demonstration of joy with which the news of the termination of hostilities was received, is thus graphically described by the late Francis Wayland, who was an eye-witness of the scene:

"It so chanced that, at the close of the last war with Great Britain, I was temporarily a resident of the city of New York. The prospects of the nation were shrouded in gloom. We had been, for two or three years, at war with the mightiest nation on earth, and as she had now

concluded a peace with the continent of Europe, we were obliged to cope with her single-handed. Our harbors were blockaded, communications coastwise between our ports were cut off; our ships were rotting in every creek and cove where they could find a place of security; our immense annual products were mouldering in our warehouses; the sources of profitable labor were dried up; our currency was reduced to irredeemable paper; the extreme portions of our country were becoming hostile to each other; and differences of political opinion were embittering the peace of every household; the credit of the Government was exhausted; no one could predict when the contest would terminate, or discern the means by which it could much longer be protracted.*

* The following lines, entitled "Hard Times," published in New York city at the close of the War of 1812, seem, with one or two exceptions, written for the present day. History has repeated itself, except in the case of the geese and turkeys! Would that a "good fat goose" could now be bought for five shillings!

"No business stirring, all things at a stand,
 People complain they have no cash in hand.
 Dull times' re-echoes now from every quarter,
 Even from father to the son and daughter.
 Merchants cry out no money to be had,
 Grocers say the times are very bad;
 Mechanics work, but they can get no pay,
 Beaux dress genteel, and ladies too are gay.
 Cash very scarce, dancing twice a week—
 Business dull—amusement still we seek.
 Some live awhile, and then, perhaps, they fail.
 While many run in debt and go to jail.
 The females must have ribbons, gauze, and lace,
 And paint besides, to smooth a wrinkled face;
 The beaux will dress, go to the ball and play,
 Sit up all night and lay in bed all day,
 Brush up an empty pate, look smart and prim,
 Follow each trifling fashion or odd whim.
 Five shillings will buy a good fat goose,
 While turkeys, too, are offered fit for use.
 Are those bad times when persons will profess
 To follow fashions and delight in dress?
 No! times are good, but people are to blame,
 Who spend too much, and justly merit shame."



James Madison

"It happened that, on a Sunday afternoon, in February, 1815, a ship was discerned in the offing, which was supposed to be a cartel, bringing home our Commissioners at Ghent, from their unsuccessful mission. 1815.

The sun had set gloomily before any intelligence had reached the city. Expectation became painfully intense, as the hours of darkness drew on. At length, a boat reached the wharf, announcing the fact that a treaty of peace had been signed, and was waiting for nothing but the action of our Government to become a law. The men, on whose ears these words first fell, rushed in breathless haste into the city, to repeat them to their friends, shouting as they ran through the streets, 'Peace! PEACE! PEACE!' Every one who heard the sound repeated it. From house to house, from street to street, the news spread with electric rapidity. The whole city was in commotion. Men bearing lighted torches, were flying to and fro, shouting like madmen, 'PEACE! PEACE!' When the rapture had partially subsided, one idea occupied every mind. But few men slept that night. In groups they were gathered in the streets, and by the fireside, beguiling the hours of midnight by reminding each other that the agony of war was over, and that a worn-out and distracted country was about to enter again upon its wonted career of prosperity."*

* At the time that the news of peace was received, S. G. Goodrich ("Peter Parley") happened to be in the city. Speaking of the joyful effect produced, he says: "I had gone in the evening to a concert at the City Hotel. While listening to the music, the door of the concert-room was thrown open, and in rushed a man breathless with excitement. He mounted on a table, and swinging a white handkerchief aloft, cried out, 'Peace! Peace! Peace!!' The music ceased; the hall was speedily vacated. I rushed into the street, and oh, what a scene! In a few minutes, thousands and tens of thousands of people were marching about with candles, lamps, torches—making the jubilant street appear like a gay and gorgeous procession. The whole night Broadway sang its song of peace. We were all Democrats, all Federalists! Old enemies rushed into each other's arms; every house was in a revel; every heart seemed melted by a joy which banished all evil thought and feeling. On Monday morning, I set out for Connecticut. All along the road, the people saluted us

The winter of 1817 was unusually severe. As late as the 15th of February the Hudson was frozen over from the city to the New Jersey side, so that people
1817. crossed on the ice from shore to shore. "Several gentlemen," records the *Evening Post* for February, "set out for a sleigh-ride on the ice from Flushing to Riker's Island, where they arrived in safety. This was the first sleigh that was ever known to visit the island, and, as it passed down the bay, it drew forth numbers of people on the shore to view so singular an event." The suc-
1818. ceeding year, also, witnessed the same intensity of cold, Long Island Sound being entirely closed by ice between Cold Spring and the Connecticut shore. The Hudson likewise was again frozen so firmly that heavy teams crossed to the Jersey side. Many persons, like the Canadians, when the ice-pond forms between Quebec and Point Levi, sought to make gain out of this unusual circumstance. Accordingly, they erected tents on the ice and sold in them liquor, roasted clams, and oysters. An attempt was also made to roast an ox, but the experiment failed, on account of the ice becoming weak near the furnaces where the cooking was done.*

with swinging of hats and cries of rejoicing. At one place, in rather a lonesome part of the road, a schoolmaster came out, with the whole school at his heels, to ask us if the news was true. We told him it was; whereupon he tied his bandanna pocket handkerchief to a broom, swung it aloft, and the whole school hosannaed, 'Peace! Peace!'

* An amusing anecdote was told at this time of a certain Jeremiah Butman, around whose tent the ice had become quite thin, from the effects of the stove and several days of mild weather. One of his customers, happening to step upon a weak spot outside of his tent, broke through, and was struggling in the water, when a friend put his head inside of Butman's tent, saying, "Jerry, there is a man gone down your cellar!" "Is it so?" said Jerry. "Then it is about time for me to leave these premises." The man, however, was finally extricated, the tent struck, and all were safely taken to the land on a sled.

On account of the severe winter, provisions were considered very dear. At the present day, however, the prices that then ruled would be considered

In the same year (1818) the Legislature of New York—De Witt Clinton, Governor—ordered the remains of General Montgomery to be removed from Canada to New York. This was in accordance with the wishes of the Continental Congress, which, in 1776, had voted the beautiful cenotaph to his memory that now stands in the front wall of St. Paul's Church, in Broadway. When the funeral cortege reached Whitehall, New York, the fleet stationed there received them with appropriate honors; and on the 4th of July they arrived in Albany. After lying in state in that city over Sunday, the remains were taken to New York, and on Wednesday deposited, with military honors, in their final resting-place at St. Paul's. Governor Clinton, with that delicacy for which he was always remarkable, had informed Mrs. Montgomery when the steamer *Richmond*, with the body of her husband, would pass her mansion on the North River. At her own request, she stood alone on the portico at the moment that the boat passed. It was now forty years since she had parted from her husband, and they had been married only two years; yet she had remained as faithful to the memory of her "soldier," as she always called him, as if alive. The steam-boat halted before the mansion; the band played the "Dead March;" a salute was fired; and the ashes of the venerated hero and the departed husband passed on. The attendants of the Spartan widow now appeared, but, overcome by the

remarkably cheap. The following are the quotations taken from the *Columbian* of December 5th, 1818:

Best beef, per lb.	12½c.	Butter, fresh.....	33c.
" " " cwt.....	\$7 to 12	" In firkins.....	23c. to 26c.
Pork, per lb.	10c.	Potatoes, per barrel	56c.
" " cwt.	\$8.	Turnips, " "	31c.
Veal, per lb.	10c.	Cabbages, per 1,000 ..	\$6 to \$7
Mutton, per lb.....	8c.	Wood, oak, per load....	\$2 25c.
Turkeys, apiece (good)....	\$1 56c.	" Walnut "	\$3 50c.
Fowls, per pair	56c.	" Pine "	\$1 62½c.
Geese, per piece	50c. to 56c.		

tender emotions of the moment, she had swooned and fallen to the floor.*

The gallant dead, though surrounded by the turmoil of a busy city, is still permitted to rest beneath the turf made radiant by the unsullied blossoms of early spring. The brave Wolfe, who fell on nearly the same spot sixteen years previous, sleeps within the splendid mausoleum of Westminster Abbey. But as we stand over the simple grave of Montgomery, we recall the quaint and beautiful language of Osborne: "He that lieth under the herse of heavenne is convertible into sweet herbs and flowers, that maye rest in bosoms that wolde shrink from the ugly bugs which may be found crawling in the magnificent tombs of Heny the VII."†

On the 22d of February, 1819, a grand ball was given by the Fourteenth Regiment,‡ in honor of General Andrew

* Janet Livingston, the sister of the distinguished Chancellor Livingston, and the wife of General Richard Montgomery, met the latter when he was a Captain in the British army, on his way to a distant frontier post. The meeting left mutual tender impressions. Returning to England soon after, Montgomery disposed of his commission, and, emigrating to New York, married the object of his attachment. But their visions of anticipated happiness upon a farm at Rhinebeck were soon ended. He was called upon to serve as one of the eight brigadier-generals in the Continental army. He accepted sadly, declaring that "the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed." His excellent wife made no opposition; and, accompanying him as far as Saratoga, received his last assurance: "You shall never have cause to blush for your Montgomery." Nor did she, for he fell bravely at Quebec. Having reduced St. John's, Chambly, and Montreal, he effected a junction with Arnold before the walls of Quebec, where he was shot through both his thighs and head, while leading his men, on the 31st of December, 1775. In person, General Montgomery was tall, graceful, and of manly address. At the time of his death he was only thirty-nine years of age.

† For the inscription on the cenotaph, and also for a letter from General Montgomery, explaining the reason for his coming to America,—which has always been involved in obscurity—see Appendix, No III.

‡ The *Fourteenth* (now the *Seventh*) *Regiment*—also known as the *Governor's Guards*, from the fact that it had once been detailed by Governor Daniel D. Tompkins (at the time a Major-General in the Army of the United States as his special body guard—was distinguished for its splendid discipline and its

